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THE MUGHAL AND SIKH RULERS
AND
THE VAISHNAVAS OF PINDORI

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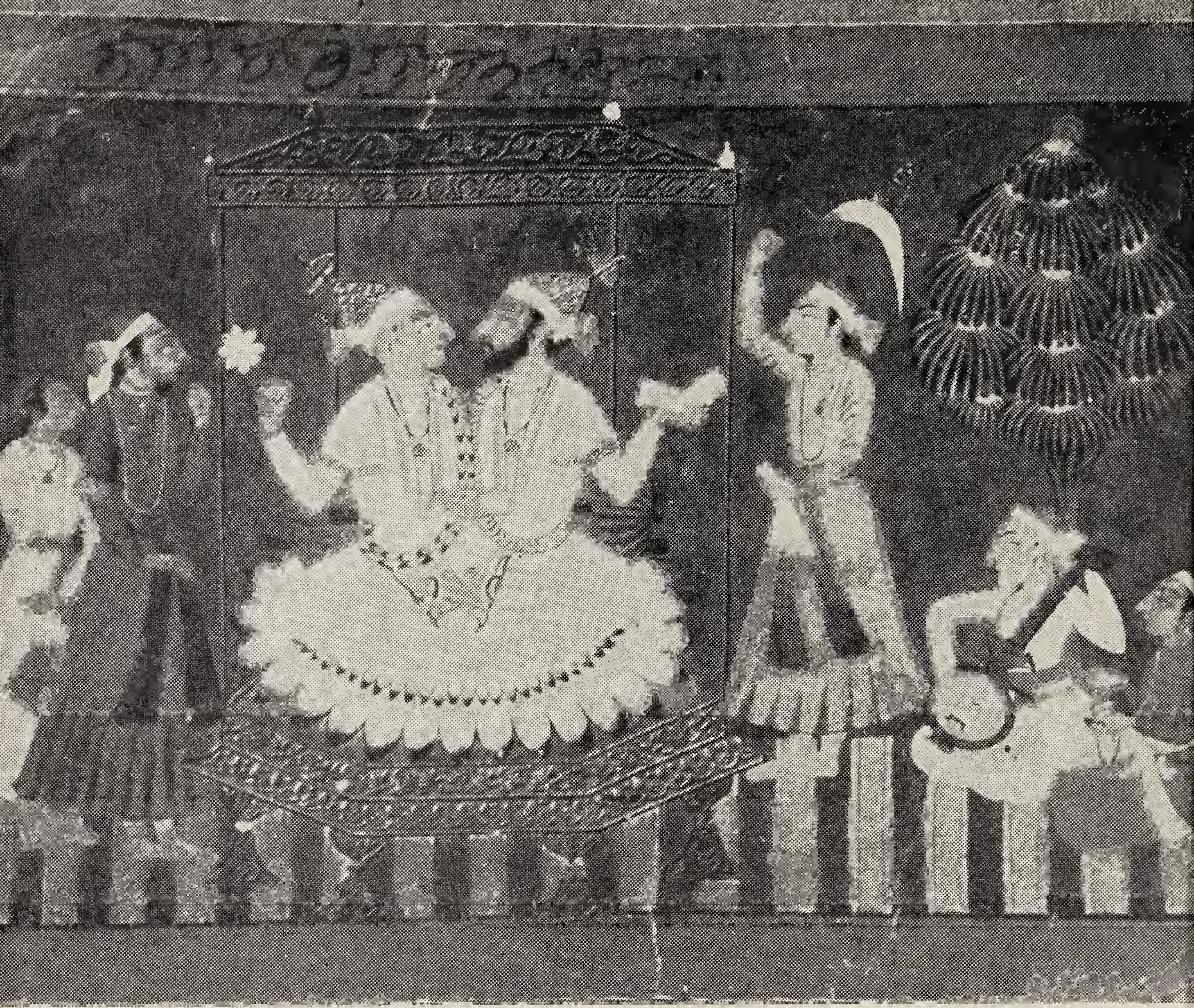

"Bhagwanji and Narayanji". A Basohli style painting from the Punjab Hills, in the Chandigarh Museum. Last quarter of the XVII century.

THE MUGHAL AND SIKH RULERS
AND
THE VAISHNAVAS OF PINDORI

A Historical Interpretation of 52 Persian Documents

by

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PREFACE

The fifty-two documents that we present here, like the set of documents that we published only a year ago as *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar,* we believe to be significant. They come from the important Vaishnava *gaddi* at Pindori in the Gurdaspur district of the Punjab, but their relevance is to much more than to sectarian or local history. They constitute, we believe, the kind of evidence which looks at first sight to be deceptively limited, but which is in fact capable of lending weight to a period of history and depth to our understanding of it. And we hope we are not being presumptuous when we suggest that they are the kind of source material which a historian must needs look at more closely, if not discover or locate for himself.

The location or publication of material like this, we are aware, is not easy and we have been fortunate in the combination of such favourable circumstances as the kindness with which our Jakhbar documents were received by scholars, the personal and friendly interest taken in this project from the beginning by Dr. Niharranjan Ray, Director of the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, and, above all, the generosity with which the present *mahant* of Pindori, the revered Maharaj Ram Das, and his learned disciple, Shri Jai Raghunandan Das Shastri, allowed us access to these documents.

It is a little difficult for us to claim for our present work the virtue of brevity because neither in the presentation of the documents, nor in the Introduction, have we succeeded in leaving out much detail. The section on documents follows closely our earlier pattern of containing facsimiles, transcription, translation and full annotation of each document for precisely the same reasons as persuaded us to do this in our Jakhbar book. The script of most of these is *shikasta* of a particularly non-negotiable kind, and we have played tenaciously with it at the game of patience: complete transcriptions of these we thought, therefore, to be useful. The translation of the documents is an obvious necessity and in the annotation we hope we have provided useful information or raised relevant points. In the slightly long Introduction we have endeavoured to take a long and hard look at the documents ourselves, as also at the establishment from which they come. But all this we believed to be necessary, if a little tiresome, because if the material is rich and many questions can be asked of it, we decided to ask some of the questions ourselves.

We have also felt justified in presenting the entire set of documents, slightly varied as they are both in respect of their contents and the authorities which issued them, because they can be made to yield different material by different scholars, and we hope that their richness is at least partial compensation for their relative lack of thematic unity. In the matter of the significance of these documents for the economic and social history of this period and region, for the political and administrative history of the later Mughals and the Sikhs in the Punjab, and for the history of the spread of Vaishnavism in these parts, we believe in fact that this variety is actually of some help.

We wish to mention here a word about the diacritical marks that we have used, or omitted to use. We have employed a scheme which, if rather unorthodox, should at least clear us of the charge of pedantry. We have completely left out their use in proper names, and in familiar words we have reduced them to the minimum, employing them fully only where we thought them to be absolutely necessary. We hope we have not, in doing this, caused unnecessary confusion because elsewhere in this volume there are full transcriptions of the documents to which reference can easily be made in case of doubt.

This volume has become possible of publication only through the help and kindness of many friends, our debt to whom we wish to acknowledge in the end. The generosity of Maharaj Ram Das of Pindori, both at the personal and the formal levels, has been great, and we have received every possible help and encouragement from him and from Shri Jai Raghunandan Das Shastri to whose progressive outlook and understanding the Pindori establishment owes a great deal today. Dr. Niharranjan Ray has, as before, given us the full measure of support on behalf of the Institute of which he is the distinguished Director, and a great deal of warmth and friendly advice to us personally. Our friend, Professor Gurdev Singh Gosal, offered valuable advice in the preparation of the Regional Map which the reader will find of great use in the understanding of the situation that emerges from these documents, and for this we are grateful to him. We are also indebted to Dr. C. D. Shastri and Mr. A. I. Tirmizi who have given us patiently of their time. In the completion of this work we have received very kind help from Dewan Keshav Das, Mr. Narinder Nath Kaushal, Mr. Rashpal Malhotra, Mr. R. K. Sethi, Mr. O. P. Sarna, Mr. Keshav Chander and Mr. D. R. Gupta, and we wish especially to acknowledge with gratitude the great help that was given to us by Mrs. Karuna Goswamy

Miss Tripta Wahi, Miss Indu Banga and Miss Anita Marwaha who associated themselves with this work at all its stages.

Panjab University,
Chandigarh.
December 1, 1968.

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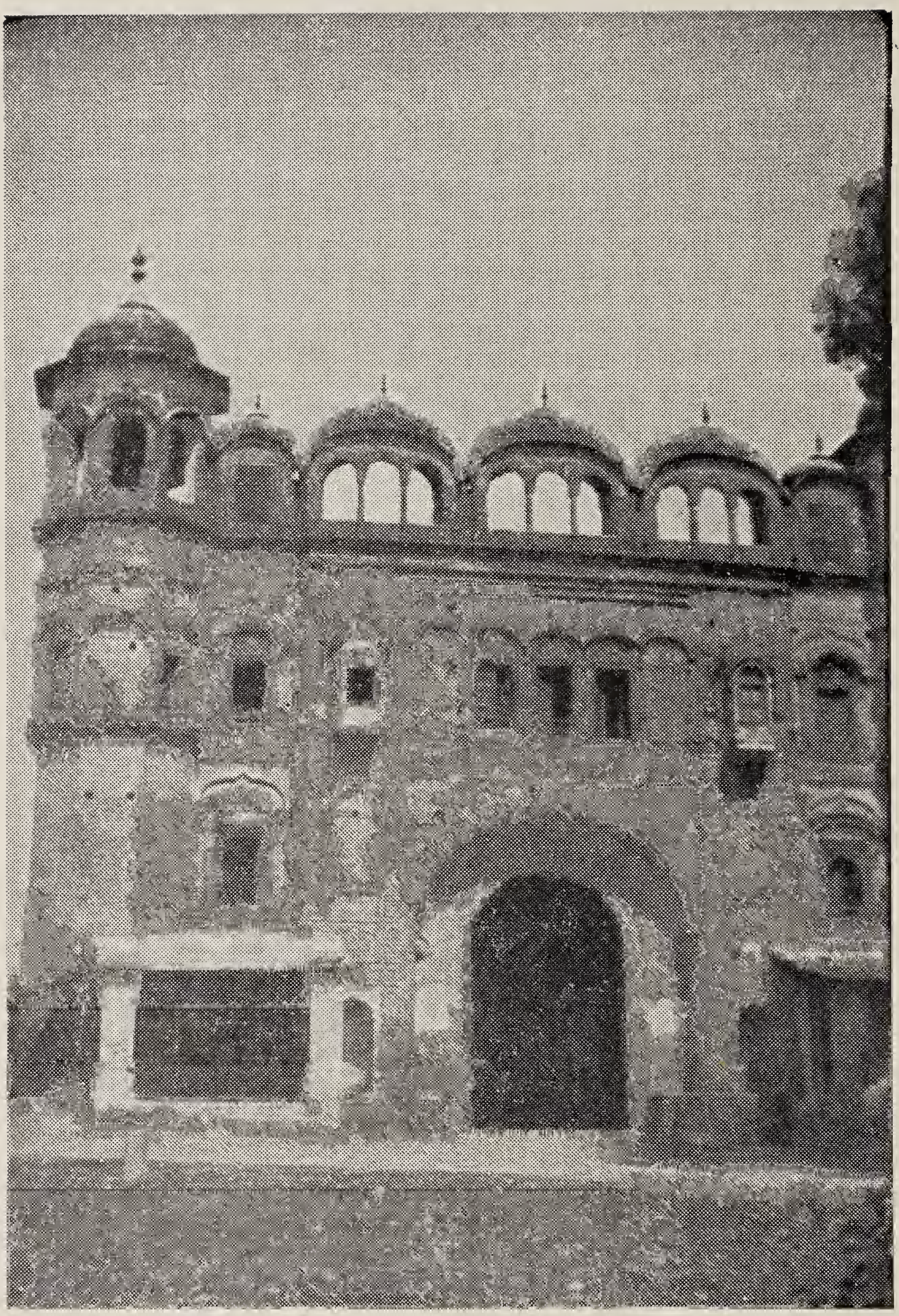


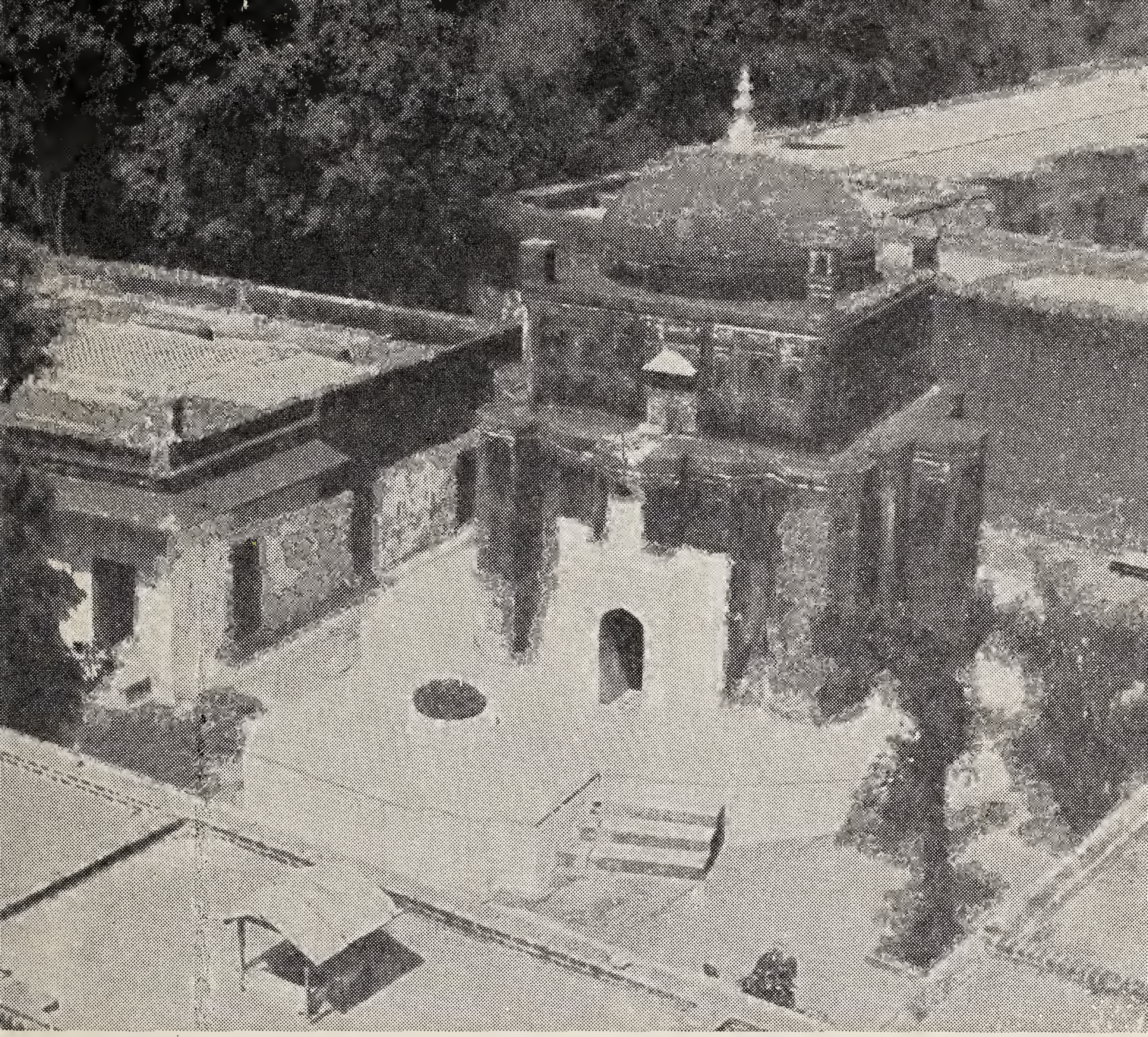
The outer gateway leading to the complex of buildings that make up the Pindori establishment

INTRODUCTION

I. THE ESTABLISHMENT

The large Vaishnava establishment at Pindori is today, as it has been for more than three hundred years, an establishment of influence and significance. Its eminence is conceded not only in the Gurdaspur District of the Punjab which has more than its share of religious houses;[1] it is recognized wherever in India religious orders and establishments are known. The *gaddi* of Pindori finds prominent mention in Vaishnava records; it constitutes in fact one of the fifty-two Vaiśhnava *dvārās* into which the Bairagi establishments are organized. Pindori is thus referred to as the *dvārā* of Bhagwan-Narain, named after Bhagwanji, the founder of the Pindori establishment, and his favourite and inseparable disciple, Narainji. In that celebrated Vaishnava text, the *Bhaktamāla,*[2] the piety of Bhagwanji and the occult powers of Narainji are recorded. The documents of which we treat here hold a clear mirror to the respect which the establishment always commanded. The present occupant of the *gaddi,* the venerable Mahant Ram Das, received the highest place of honour among religious heads assembled on the occasion of the Kumbh fair at Haridwar not long ago. And Pindori stands firmly at the centre of numerous branches all over the country that have sprung from it in the course of the past three hundred years.[3]

The village in which the establishment is situated has an undistinguished name, Pindori, which it shares with several other villages in the Gurdaspur district and which occurs in the revenue records as only a minor adjunct of the name of the village Talibpur-Pindori.[4] But the relative commonness of the place-name and its location in a secluded corner seven miles east of Gurdaspur are misleading, for Pindori is not only built on a picturesque site close to a small but dense and beautiful forest, not far from the course of the river Beas; it also has one of the most imposing of constructions that house a religious establishment in these parts. Looking a little like a fortress from the outside, with a massive enclosing wall and a towering gate, the establishment is spread over an extensive area and consists of a series of buildings that have each their allotted role in this complex of buildings. The gateway with its two halves made out of enormous single planks of wood strengthened by metallic bosses and strips is topped by beautiful *chhatris.* At some distance from the main gateway which leads to a vast compound is the second gateway from which three different compounds are approached. To the left is the compound inside which stand the *samādhis* of the former *mahants* of Pindori, close to that curious and noble monument which tradition refers to as the structure raised over the remains of Bhagwanji by the Emperor Jahangir as an act of homage. Designed like a tomb, the structure may in fact be even earlier and may date from the sixteenth century.[5]. The large compound in front of the second gateway has along its sides a very large number of rooms for housing pilgrims, and also a Sanskrit *pāthshāla* run by the establishment on charitable lines. The principal part of the complex of buildings that is generally in use is to the north of this compound and is built at different levels. At the ground level is the building known as the *gaddi ghar* where, on ceremonial occasions, the occupant of the *gaddi* appears



The *samadhi* of Bhagwanji, the founder of the Pindori gaddi : a view from above. The structure is ascribed in the local tradition to the Emperor Jahangir. The flat, rectangular building to the left of the *samadhi* contains the *samadhis* of the succeeding mahants

The *gaddi ghar*. The presiding mahant of the *gaddi* gives *darshans* to the devotees from this spot

before his devotees from a verandah in a corner of which lies a silver throne devoutly presented by Rani Jindan, and the walls of which bear traces of nineteenth century frescoes. From this a short flight of stairs leads to a set of rooms where the present *mahant* resides and usually gives *darshan* to privileged visitors; another flight leads to the compound from the centre of which rises the impressive Raghunath Temple,[6] appropriately placed at the heart of a Vaishnava establishment that offers special devotion to Rama from among the incarnations of Vishnu. At a slightly lower level than the temple, and approached from the paved compound is the hallowed cave or subterranean place of worship to which extremely narrow and steep stairs lead and inside the cavernous gloom of which the founder of the *gaddi,* Bhagwanji, is said by tradition to have sat in meditation.[7] This does not described the whole of the establishment, because there is an extensive orchard attached to the complex of buildings; there is also the monument called the *samādhi* of Baba Mahesh Das, a disciple of Bhagwanji, close to the principal group of buildings. There is a spring of limpid water in the little wood where both Bhagwanji and Narainji are said to have worshipped; and at a short distance from the main gateway is a large paved tank of water at the head of which stands a charming *bārādari*-like pavilion; at the back of this facing the open stretch of land that leads to the Beas in the distance, are faded frescoes again, done by a Lahore artist of the middle of the 19th century, Pandit Suraj Ram.[8] There is about the whole place an air altogether of great charm and quiet. An air also of history and antiquity.

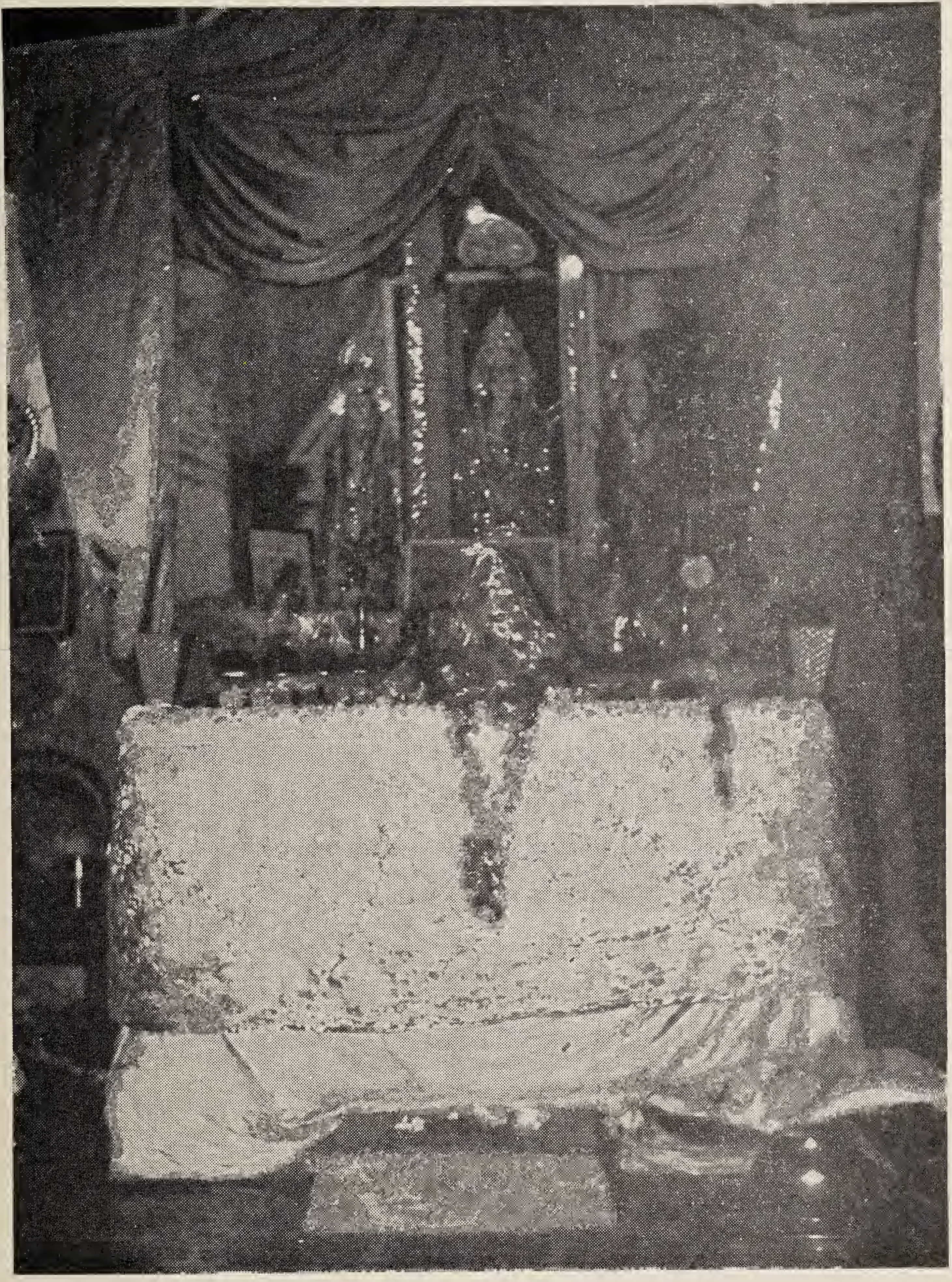
This feeling of history comes through forcefully in the present series of documents. Repeatedly one comes upon references to grants dating back to "the rule of the

(Mughal) emperors". It is not possible with certitude to fix the precise date from which the establishment has come down, mostly because the documents as they have survived in the Pindori collection do not go back to anything earlier than the last quarter of the 17th century. But there are strong indications that there were many more, and older, documents belonging to the *gaddi*. There is a reference, in the *Gazetter of the Gurdaspur District,*[9] to the original copper-plate grant from the time of the Emperor Jahangir being preserved, though now not traceable, at the daughter-shrine of Damtal[10] near Pathankot. In the valuable manuscript history of Pindori by Pujari Krishnadas,[11] there is a reference to a large number of *farmāns* and other documents having been deposited just before his death by the third *mahant,* Anandghan, with a member of the well-known *mahant* family of Gurdaspur to be kept in safe custody for his disciple and successor who was then away on a pilgrimage. The arrival of this disciple, the future Mahant Hari Ram, was not free of incident because it led to a difference of opinion, in fact an open clash of interest, with the caretaker of the *gaddi,* Shyam Das, who later went and occupied the *gaddi* at Damtal. There is then, in these very documents,[12] a reference to an unhappy occurrence in which many documents were forcibly snatched away from Mahant Ram Das, the sixth *mahant* in the line of succession, when he was on a visit to a village in the Nurpur territory, not very far from Damtal. This incident seen together with the fact that the first document mentioning a *mahant* by name in the present series, document III, belongs to the period of Mahant Ram Das, assumes significance, for earlier grants are clearly referred to but do not now form part of this collection,[13] which begins suddenly with the period of Mahant Ram Das. It is difficult to say anything with certainty but about this whole fact of the loss of the earlier documents there is the clear smell of mischief, perhaps even violence. Admittedly, in the absence of documentary evidence, one has only the tradition that is preserved at the establishment of its dating back to the early part of the seventeenth century, but then this tradition seems generally to be well founded, if the many indirect indications are to be taken into account.

The life of Bhagwanji, described by tradition and documentary evidence[14] to be the founder of the Pindori *gaddi,* is surrounded with legend which ascribes to him an unusually long span of life and speaks of the many miracles performed by him from his very childhood. His birthplace is given[15] as Kahnuwan, eight miles south of Pindori in the Gurdaspur district and situated once on the bank of the Beas and now on a slight eminence overlooking what was not long ago an extensive swamp. The name of Bhagwanji's father is said to have been Tota Ram, a Brahmin of the Kahnuwan town, and the name of his mother, Maina. Interestingly enough, the birth of this founder of the most prominent of Vaishnava establishments in these parts is said to have been due to the blessing received by his father, Tota Ram, from a Jogi of the Nathapanthi order, whose name is given as Tara Nath. This association of the Pindori *gaddi* with the Jogis is full of significance because it survives in diverse forms to this day. The connection of the birth of Bhagwanji to his parents in their old age with the blessings of the Jogi is believed in both by the Jogis and the Vaishnavas. There is still at Kahnuwan, in a corner of the town, a Jogi establishment,[16] complete with its *gaddi,* the constantly burning *dhuni* and the burial ground,[17] and inside this under a tree are two tiny tumuli which are pointed out to the visitors as having been raised over the remains of the two parents of Bhagwanji. The legend links Bhagwanji, who spent his early years meditating inside another subterranean cave still to be seen at Kahnuwan, once again with the Nathapanthi Jogis, though not, this time, in any friendly relationship. The site of the present establishment of Pindori is said once to have been occupied by a *Jamā'at* of the Jogis who were ousted from there by Bhagwanji after a contest of wills and miraculous powers. It was after the Jogis vacated this neighbourhood that Bhagwanji founded the present establishment there. The Jogis are said to have gone away to Dhamrai[18] where their establishment still exists.

The association of the Pindori *gaddi* with the Nathapanthis is commemorated in a significant practice that is still followed. On the ceremonial occasion of the installation of a new *mahant* at Pindori, two objects, a *seli* or black woollen thread, and a *topi* or cap, are received from the Jogi establishment of Jakhbar and placed upon the person of the *mahant*.[19] The ritual is of such importance that without it the ceremony is deemed to be incomplete.[20] This *topi* is an unusual conical kind of headgear not at all common to Vaishnava establishments and can be seen in all the paintings of the *mahants* of Pindori that have survived. A *topi* which could be taken to be the symbol of the precedence of the Jogi establishment, together with a *chola* or overgarment, is still draped over the *samādhis* of the various *mahants* of Pindori.

Whatever the connection between the early years of Bhagwanji and the Jogi order, Bhagwanji himself seems to have been converted to Vaishnavism in his young years. This conversion, or his being claimed for the Vaishnava sect as it were, is said to have been due to a famous Vaishnava ascetic, Shri Krishnadas Payahari.[21] Krishnadas Payahari is cited as being the disciple of Anantanand, one of the more



The *samadhi* of Bhagwanji : a view of the interior. The cubical structure in the middle is topped by a protuberance over which is draped a conical *topi* said to have been worn by Bhagwanji

well-known of the disciples of the celebrated Vaishnava saint, Ramanand. It is through this connection that Bhagwanji himself became a Vaishnava of the "Ramanandi" order, and the *gaddi* one of Ramanandi Baïragis as it is described in the records. Nothing very much is known about the life of Shri Krishnadas Payahari, but he is connected with the Vaishnava *gaddi* at Galta in Rajasthan, and it was at Galta itself, or during one of his pilgrimages upon which he embarked while quite young, that Bhagwanji seems to have encountered, and been converted by, Krishnadas Payahari. This was the great age of missionary activity by Vaishnava saints, and it was probably with an eye on spreading the doctrine of Vaishnavism to the Punjab Hills which then owed almost exclusive allegiance to Shaivism or Shaktism that Shri Krishnadas Payahari induced Bhagwanji to make the district of Gurdaspur as the base of his activity. This carrying of the message of Vaishnavism to these parts, especially the hill areas, seems thus to have been the historic role played by the Pindori *gaddi* as a Vaishnava centre. Shri Krishnadas himself is linked by tradition with missionary work in the remote hill state of Kulu and is said to have won over Raja Jagat Singh of that state to Vaishnavism,[22] but he chose Bhagwanji to make his base in the submontane district of Gurdaspur with a sure instinct, because Bhagwanji, being a native of these parts himself, must have had the advantage of knowing the area and the people well. That this was a shrewd choice both of man and place is proven by the fact that, with years, Pindori became one of the most influential establishments of Vaishnavism in these parts, winning for itself the allegiance of numerous hill chiefs either directly or through offshoots which it implanted in these very hill areas. A large number of hill chiefs became intimately bound to the Pindori *gaddi* and one can think of the devotion to it of the rulers of the hill states of Nurpur,[23] Guler,[24] Chamba,[25] Jaswan,[26] Mankot,[27] Bandralta,[28] and Jammu,[29] as proof of the splendid success which attended upon the work of Bhagwanji and those that succeeded him.

The date of Bhagwanji[30] is a matter which cannot be treated of with confidence, but he is made out by the tradition insistently preserved at Pindori to be a contemporary of the Emperor Jahangir, at least in his late years. In the legend that connects him with Jahangir, however, Bhagwanji does not figure alone but has by his side his foremost disciple, Narainji. Bhagwanji is represented in the several paintings we have of him[31] as carrying a *veena* on his shoulder indicating his love for music and, like many of the Vaishnava *bhaktas* of his times, for making music an instrument for union with the infinite. Bhagwanji, possibly with the self-same *veena* in his hand, is said to have roamed far and distant, and in one of the itineraries met Narainji whom he attached to himself,[32] much as he himself had been drawn earlier to Shri Krishnadas Payahari. The connection between Bhagwanji and this disciple of his to so firm that almost always they are mentioned together in the same breath. The Pindori *gaddi* is referred to in common parlance, as it is in most of our documents, as the *gaddi* of Bhagwan-Narain. This inseparability is given a most interesting, if literal, visual representation by the Pahari painter in whose hands several paintings[33] have survived showing one body with two heads and four arms, the heads belonging to Bhagwanji and Narainji. In these as in other paintings Bhagwanji appears as clean-shaven, portly, round in the face, and resting one of the gourds of his *veena* on a shoulder, while Narainji appears as a leaner soul with a fully grown moustache and beard. Both of them appear wearing somewhat decorative conical caps which, we have seen earlier, represent the connection with the Jogi establishment of Jakhbar.

The most important of legends that is cited in proof of the miraculous powers possessed by Narainji is that in which he is administered seven cups of poison by the Emperor Jahangir at Lahore as a test of this Hindu ascetic's powers. The story forms a central point in the tradition preserved at Pindori and several paintings show this incident in which Narainji, as it is narrated, came out triumphantly with the blessings of his preceptor. This legend has been the subject of a recent study[34] which draws attention to a passage in the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* in which the Emperor himself refers to a test to which he subjected a Hindu ascetic who was under a vow of silence, interpreted by the adherents of the Emperor as one of arrogance. The account of the incident in the *Tuzuk* varies in matters of detail from that given in the tradition. The incident in the *Memoirs* is thus recorded as having taken place in these parts, not far from Nurpur and not at Lahore, and in the XVI year of his reign (1621-22) and no earlier. But the substance of the legend receives considerable support from the Emperor's account. The name of the ascetic is given in the *Memoirs* as "Moti" but this has been shown to be a misreading for "mauni", one under a vow of silence which Narainji by all accounts was. The severe ordeal is mentioned by the Emperor in some detail who concludes the incident with admiration for the ascetic's powers. "Certainly", he says, "there was much persistence in his nature".[35] This occurrence, mentioned at Pindori as a miracle, is said to have led the Emperor to confer a very substantial land grant upon the Pindori establishment.[36] The prosperity of the *gaddi* may in fact be said to date from then because quite clearly this was only the beginning of the munificent and reverential attitude which was adopted towards the *gaddi* by subsequent rulers. The earlier documents having been lost, and our having to rely mostly upon allusions to them in the surviving documents, it becomes difficult to ascertain the precise nature and extent of the grants conferred upon the *gaddi* by the great Mughal Emperors, but when we get to the eighteenth century, the eminence of the *gaddi* and the consideration due to it are taken for granted by ruler after ruler and official after official in these documents.

The historical developments at Pindori at this stage are not clear, and there is some vagueness in the tradition. Not directly occurring in the line of succession at Pindori is Baba Mahesh Das whose name is mentioned at Pindori with a great deal of reverence and whose *samādhi* is situated outside the precincts of the main establishment. The tradition at Jakhbar claims[37] that Mahesh Das was originally Mahesh Nath, a Nathapanthi Jogi, and certainly even the first half of his name with its Shaiva association stands apart from the names of the other *mahants* which are all strictly Vaishnava. And there is also the important fact of this *samādhi* being separated from the other *samādhi* of the *mahants* of Pindori. But there cannot, once again be any certainty in this matter. What is certain only is that Baba Mahesh Das was associated with Bhagwanji in one manner or the other. He, too, is generally credited with having performed many miracles among which was one involving his pet dog which survived consuming copious quantities of opium administered to it by a skeptical Mughal Emperor. Baba Mahesh Das is said to have been the seniormost among the disciples of Bhagwanji but he was reluctant to occupy the *gaddi* after him. In an incident which is preserved in the tradition as Pindori,[38] he is represented as having almost bodily lifted the equally reluctant Narainji and placed him on the *gaddi* after Bhagwanji.

The period of Narainji upon the *gaddi* of Pindori is not marked by any important occurrences, but a manuscript[39] preserved in the daughter-shrine of Bathu, in the former hill state of Guler, makes him much more tangible than stories about him do. This is, in fact, not one but many small manuscripts which have now been bound together in the same volume, and these are apparently records of the utterings of Narainji scripted on the spot by a farsighted disciple who gives his name as "Shyam Gujrati". The dates are variously given and at the end of the various manuscripts, we find Samvats 1695 (A.D. 1638), 1700 (A.D. 1643) and 1705 (A.D. 1648), among others, given. Most of the writings contain the teachings of Narainji and in one of these there is a dialogue between Narainji and some divine personages through which the essence of his own teachings and those of his preceptor, Bhagwanji, is brought out. The literary merit of the work is not very considerable and the manuscript is by no means an outstanding example of calligraphy, but the work is undoubtedly of importance and deserves certainly to be better known.

The date of Narainji's death is recorded in this very work,[40] on a leaf which is not connected with any of the texts, as S. 1716 (A.D. 1659)).This must be accurate because this entry mentions several small details which ring authentic and which can only contemporaneously have been recorded. Before his death, Narainji, like Bhagwanji before him, appears to have sent out many disciples to found small *gaddis* at different places and there is certainly much indication that the influence of the establishment had spread a great deal.

After Narainji, we seem to be able to reach the historical developments through even the fragment of the collection of documents that has survived. The direct line of succession to the *gaddi* is quite clear and can be given as follows:

Bhagwanji
|
Narainji
|
Mahant Anandghan
|
Mahant Hari Ram
|
Mahant Sukh Nidhan
|
Mahant Ram Das
|
Mahant Ram Krishan Das
|
Mahant Keshav Das
|
Mahant Narotam Das
|
Mahant Ganga Das
|
Mahant Radhika Das
|
Mahant Brahm Das
|
Mahant Ram Das
(the present occupant of the *gaddi*)

The dates of all the *mahants* after Narainji are clearly recorded in the published history of Pindori[41] and there is complete consistency between them and our documents, wherever the documents relate to a clear date.

The period of Mahant Anandghan, the successor of Narainji, was short but important, inasmuch as it is during his time that the Rajas of Nurpur became devotees of the Pindori *gaddi*. The more recent Rajas of this important hill state stood in closer relationship to Damtal which lay once in the Nurpur territory itself, but there appears to be little doubt that their original allegiance was to the senior establishment at Pindori.

The death of Mahant Anandghan in S. 1733 (A.D. 1676) was followed by an important occurrence which affected a great deal the developments at Pindori and which probably has some relevance, as we have seen above, to the fact of the loss of the Mughal *farmāns* that belonged originally to the Pindori *gaddi*. Mahant Anandghan, it is said,[42] had intended to confer the *gaddi* on his disciple Hari Ram who, at the time when he felt his death approaching, was away on a pilgrimage to Haridwar. Out of a feeling of caution, Mahant Anandghan handed over all important papers and his will regarding the succession to the *gaddi* to a member of the friendly *mahant* family of Gurdaspur town. Since, however, someone had to manage the affairs of his *gaddi* immediately after his death, he requested a *gurubhai* to spare one of his disciples, Shyam Das by name, to look after these affairs till the return of Hari Ram from his pilgrimage. Shyam Das, it is said, started managing the Pindori affairs but in the process developed an ambition of his own to occupy the *gaddi* for good. When Mahant Hari Ram returned, however, he was acclaimed by the Pindori devotees as the rightful successor to Mahant Anandghan. At this Shyam Das went away in anger and dismay and sought the intervention of some Mughal official to settle what he now treated as a dispute about succession between himself and Mahant Hari Ram. The dispute was fortunately settled by the generous attitude of Mahant Hari Ram who allowed Shyam Das to go and occupy the *gaddi* at Damtal which was also then attached to the Pindori shrine. Shyam Das accepted the offer only grudgingly, however, and began to harbour ill-will towards Mahant Hari Ram and the Pindori *gaddi.*

The tradition on this point seems to be slightly mixed up because the Mughal officer whose intervention Shyam Das is said to have sought is named as Nawab Adina Beg Khan whose date is considerably later than the succession of Mahant Hari Ram to the Pindori *gaddi.* But there does appear to be substance in this story as far as the differences which arose between the Pindori and the Damtal establishments are concerned. There has been some strain in the relationship between these two *gaddis* even though the present situation is fortunately quite happy, and the present occupant of the Damtal *gaddi,* the young and energetic Mahant Lal Das, has cordial relations with the Pindori establishment.

Troubled as it was in the beginning, the period of Mahant Hari Ram was full of incident and, in terms of the spread of Vaishnava doctrine, of achievement. It is during his period that Pindori is said to have been invaded in strength by a group of militant Shaiva ascetics including Bhairongir, Launggir, and Ilaichigir.[43] The Pindori establishment seems, however, to have survived this attack quite successfully, and no untoward consequences arose from this. The invasion might actually have taken place or this might only be a reference to the strong contest between the Vaishnavas of Pindori and the Shaivas of these parts which was only to be expected. Another episode that is associated with the period of Mahant Hari Ram in his visit to Damtal during which he was ostensibly well received by Shyam Das who, however, became suspicious of the intentions of Mahant Hari Ram about the Damtal *gaddi.* According to the Pindori account Shyam Das instigated some followers who waylaid Mahant Hari Ram when he left Damtal and belaboured him severely, leaving him in an unconscious state from which he was saved by some Rajputs of the village Jandwal in the district of Hoshiarpur who were passing by. Mahant Hari Ram fortunately survived and, it is said, returned to Pindori after spending some days at Jandwal during which he received the allegiance of the people of that village.

Our document VI also refers to a violent incident of this kind but in that the date of the incident is much later; it is in fact given as A.H. 1149 (A.D. 1736-37) and the name of the *mahant* involved is given as Ram Das. The document refers to the *mahant* having been subjected to violence in the Nurpur territory near the village Raja Khasa which is not far from Damtal, and clearly mentions important documents being taken away from him by the members of the Sannyasi sect. There is, in view of this, a fair possibility that there is some confusion in the tradition in this matter again. It is almost certain that it was only Mahant Ram Das who was involved in this 'Damtal' incident, "manifest as the Sun" as the document says it was, and not Mahant Hari Ram. The fact of the documents having been forcibly taken away from Mahant Ram Das seems to receive further strength from the fact that the original copper-plate recording the grant relating to Pindori was said to have been preserved, till not long ago, at Damtal. Even though the document refers to the violence upon Mahant Ram Das having been inflicted upon by adherents of the Sannyasi sect, there might well be some connection, carefully concealed, between these Sannyasis and what had become in some ways the rival *gaddi* of Damtal. An interesting light is thrown on this matter also by the fact that the incident in the document relates to a date when Nawab Adina Beg Khan, who is anachronistically mentioned as having intervened between Mahant Hari Ram and Shyam Das, was active. This leads one once again to doubt the tradition on this point which is probably accurate in much else except the name of the *mahant* involved. But it is difficult to be emphatic in this matter and all that one clearly has is the contradiction between the tradition and what we believe is the relevant document.

Mahant Hari Ram is credited with several miracles and with having won for the establishment numerous adherents including a branch of the ruling house of Jammu. The three villages in the Jammu territory referred to in document XXXVIII are, by tradition, associated with Mahant Hari Ram to whom they were gifted by a Jammu prince. Document VIII mentions a Raja of Jaswan presenting to him a whole village. The land to which our document I refers is also said to have been given away to Mahant Hari Ram by Mai Bhagan who is mentioned in that document as the purchaser. This is interesting because this forms a good explanation of the presence of this document in the Pindori collection. One wonders if this is not also the explanation of several other documents, which are ostensibly not related to Pindori at all, being in the present collection. These might well have been handed over to the *Mahants* as title-deeds at the time of their acquiring the properties in question by gift or purchase.

On his death in S. 1775 (A.D. 1718), Mahant Hari Ram was succeeded by his disciple Mahant Sukh Nidhan whose period on the *gaddi* was however very limited, his death occurring in S. 1784 (A.D. 1727), nine short years after his succession. The name of Mahant Sukh Nidhan occurs in our documents only in late references like in document IX, where he is said to have purchased 410 *bighas* of land in the village Khojapur in A.D. 1724, and there it occurs as 'Sukhdev'. This name together with that of his preceptor, was preserved in the name of the village Khojapur which was apparently changed and renamed after them as "Harirampur Sukhdev".

The sixth *mahant* was Ram Das, "the elect among the sect of Bairagis" as he is described in the document bearing the seal of Muhammad Hayat, document X. His name finds mention in as many as nine documents in the Pindori collection and is associated, apart from the Damtal incident as we have seen above, with a major development in the spread of Vaishnavism in the hills. During one of his visits to the hill state of Guler a tragic incident took place there [44] in which a young Brahmin widow, Bodli, was involved. She was told by the *mahant* that women were not entitled to the worship of *shāligrāma,* the ammonite stone which is taken to be the symbol of Vishnu, and following this, the idol was forcibly removed from her possession by the orders of the then Raja of Guler, Bishan Singh, elder brother of the more famous Goverdhan Chand.[45] At this the widow committed suicide. This led the Raja to try and expiate for his sin by raising a temple over the *samādhi* of the widow. To this *samādhi* he also attached an endowment of land and a temple that is today referred to as the Bathu establishment. The first *mahant* of Bathu, which was destined to become a significant Vaishnava establishment in the hills, was Vishnu Das, a disciple, or possibly even a *gurubhai* of Mahant Ram Das.

This Vishnu Das is apparently the same person who is referred to in three of our documents as 'Gosain Bishan Das' and is even referred to in one of them, document XV, as the *sajjada-nishin,* occupant of the *gaddi,* of Pindori. This description however appears to have been based on some misconception about the status of Vishnu Das. The tradition at Pindori does not include him in the succession of *mahants* who actually occupied the *gaddi,* and the explanation of this situation appears to be that Vishnu Das must have been an important disciple who must have managed some of the affairs of the Pindori establishment and dealt with the Mughal officials, thus leading the authorities concerned to describe him as an occupant of the *gaddi of Pindori.* That Vishnu Das himself became a *mahant,* the first one at Bathu, must have led to an enhancement of his personal status which might even earlier have been considerable. According to the tradition,[46] Vishnu Das took with him, at the time of moving to Bathu, a *gudri* or over-garment which had originally belonged to Bhagwanji. This *gudri,* a semi-circular piece of cloth with exquisite though now faded embroidered figures, is still preserved at Bathu and is worshipped there as a relic of Bhagwanji with much ceremony in the *navrātras* of Ashwin.

Mahant Ram Das died in S. 1818 (A.D. 1761) and was succeeded by Mahant Ram Krishan Das who occupied the *gaddi* for eighteen years till his death in S. 1835 (A.D. 1778). He is not mentioned by name in any of our documents, although at least two, documents XX and XXI, relate to his period. The only important development under him appears to have been the founding of several branches, among them those in Lahore, Pur Hiran and Mukerian in district Hoshiarpur, Chinapattan in Madras, and Gangath in district Kangra.[47]

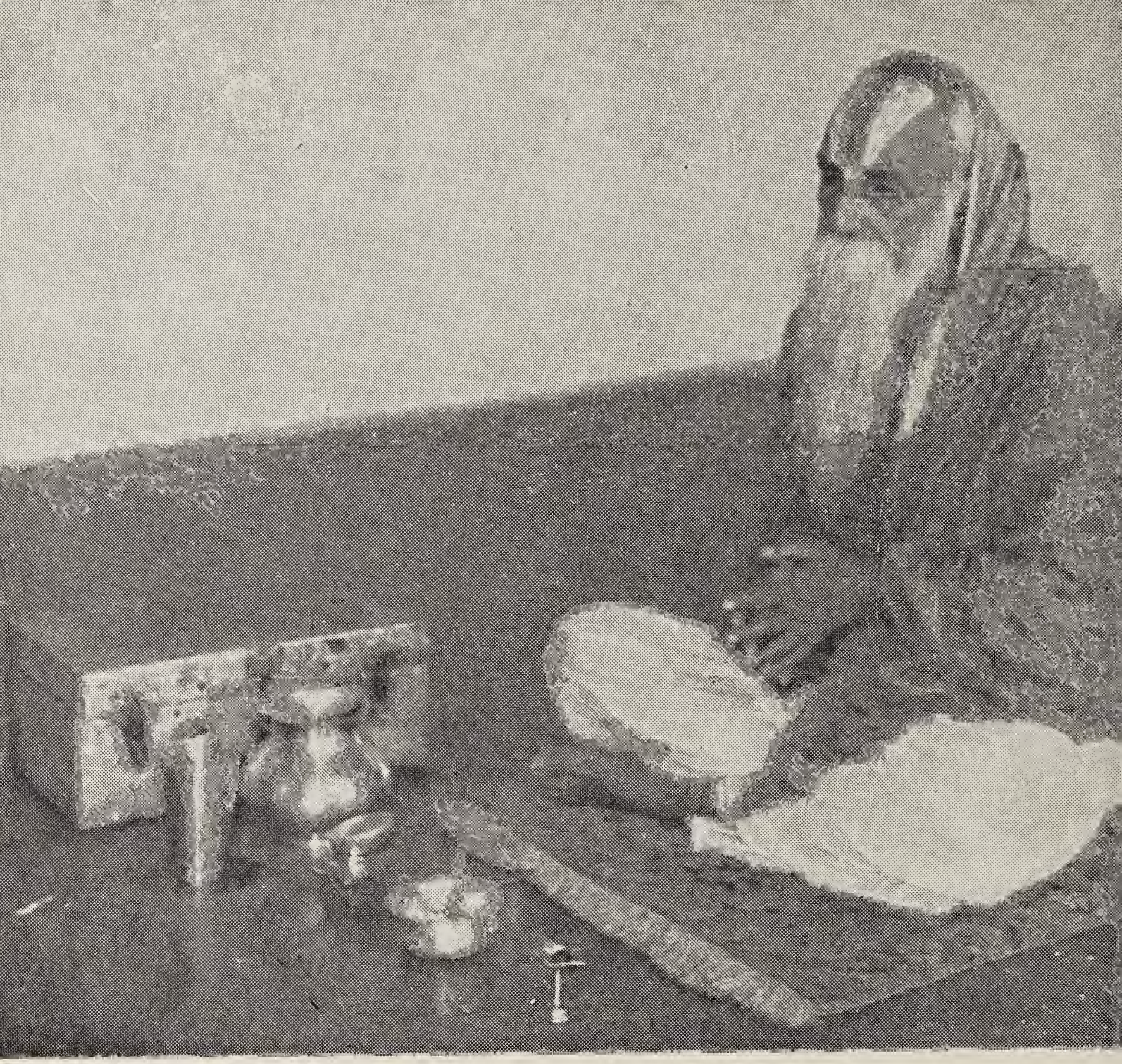
The eighth *mahant,* Keshav Das, had a fairly long period of twenty-nine years on the *gaddi.* These were years of tumult in the Punjab and the Sikh chiefs who had begun to assert their authority in the middle of the century now held sway over considerable parts. Many of them appear in our documents as holding the Pindori *gaddi* and its occupant, Mahant Keshav Das, in deep reverence, and if the address to him as "the redeemer of the two worlds" by

Jai Singh Kanhaiya in our document XXIV is any indication, Mahant Keshav Das must indeed have commanded an unusual measure of respect.

At the death of Mahant Keshav Das in S. 1864 (A.D. 1807) his disciple Narotam Das succeeded to the *gaddi*. Maharaja Ranjit Singh is said to have been, personally, deeply attached to him and conferred upon him several villages in fresh grants for the maintenance of the *gaddi*.[48] He is also said to have appointed some of his own soldiers to remain in attendance upon the *mahant* and ordered his officials to adopt an especially considerate and reverential tone towards his establishment. The other members of the royal family shared with Ranjit Singh this munificent attitude towards Mahant Narotam Das from whose period ten documents in the Pindori collection come. A great deal of construction activity is associated with the period of Mahant Narotam Das to whom is due the paving and enlargement of the tank of water. On the occasion of the *pratishthā* of the tank, Maharaja Ranjit Singh is represented as having sent a liberal offering including ten thousand gold mohurs and hundreds of cows. Tradition also associates Sada Kaur, the mother-in-law of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, with the conferment upon Mahant Narotam Das of generous gifts in offering. The most important of the constructions under Mahant Narotam Das was the present Raghunath temple, the circumambulatory path or *pradakshinā* of which he got embellished by fine frescoes now in a state unfortunately of decay. The sensitivity of the *kalam* in which they were rendered still shows through and some gifted Pahari painter must have executed these.[49] This aspect of the patronage of the arts by the *mahants* of Pindori is fascinating and falls in line with the commissioning of artists by the *mahants* of other religious establishments.[50] It is not known whether these artists received regular payments as other employees of the *mahants* or whether they painted these frescoes or sets of miniature paintings as an act of humble homage to men of God. The tone of the inscription by the artist Suraj Ram of Lahore on the *bārādari* at the head of the tank inclines one to believe that the latter was the case.

Mahant Narotam Das died in S. 1900 (A. D. 1843) and was succeeded by Mahant Ganga Das who, with his disciple, Radhika Das, is mentioned in the last of our documents. Mahant Ganga Das belonged to Awankha, a village near Dinanagar which finds mention in these documents, and is described as having been severely simple in his tastes and living. His period saw the transfer of power from the Sikhs to the British, but even though the *gaddi* is mentioned in the British records in the matter-of-fact tone that is characteristic of the new administration, there seems to have been little loss in the veneration in which the *gaddi* was held by the people, or the lands recognized to be belonging to it by the state.[51] The death of Mahant Ganga Das occurred in S. 1918 (A.D. 1861) and that of his disciple, Mahant Radhika Das, in S. 1944 (A.D. 1887).

Mahant Brahm Das who succeeded Mahant Radhika Das is associated with having raised the impressive structure that now rises above the *samādhi* of Baba Mahesh Das. This construction was completed in S. 1945 (A.D. 1888) and was, like the Raghunath Temple, embellished with frescoes even if in their style there is an element of haste and garishness. Mahant Brahm Das is said to have been very fond of going on pilgrimage and also went on long tours, many of them to Kashmir, which must have had some significance for these parts. His death in S. 1965 (A.D. 1908) led to a serious and protracted dispute about the succession to the *gaddi* of Pindori which was settled



Shri Mahant Ram Dasji, the present mahant of the Pindori *gaddi* by the rights of the present *mahant,* Shri Ram Das, then a young boy, being recognized.[52]

Mahant Ram Das is a venerable old man in his seventies, "the elect among the sect of Bairagis", like a predecessor of his, and justly referred to as a *param-vaishnava.* Everything about him has become identified in the popular mind with piety and, in another manner, with the establishment itself : the saintly appearance, the *ūrdhva-pundra* Vaishnava *tilak*-mark, the slight frame, the long hours at prayer, the chanting of *mantras* in which he leads the picturesque chorus of young yellow-clad boys from the Sanskrit *pāthshāla,* the scholarly inclination, and, above all, the generous and enlightened sympathies. The share of worldly cares which a large establishment like Pindori naturally has, is left to his nearest and most trusted disciple, Shri Jai Raghunandan Das Shastri, a learned scholar himself, who manages these affairs with zeal and imagination. And thus the establishment of Pindori which has weathered many a change of times and administration before, stands firm in the midst of popular esteem and influence, with an air almost of permanence about itself.

This influence which could have been maintained unchanged over a long span of time only with inner strength and prudence is apparent in much else than in the grants of which the establishment was a recipient for these hundreds of years. Of this there are eloquent indications in our documents. At nearly all levels one sees a special relationship in which the *gaddi* stood with those with whom it dealt, at the levels alike of rulers and princes, officials and functionaries, *gumashtas* and tenants. And, in a sense, this special relationship is still kept with the multitudes that assemble yearly at Pindori on occasions like the Ram Navmi celebrations, or repair to it from distant parts to render personal homage.

II. THE CONTEXT

The present collection of documents is, we believe, a collection that is in many ways without a parallel, certainly one of the most important of its kind to be published. In presenting some *madad-i-ma'āsh* and other documents in *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar* we had suggested that in the present state of our knowledge official documents of this kind form one of the richest sources of information on the medieval period of Indian history.[53] Of this we are now convinced more than ever before. The present collection, like the one from Jakhbar, comes from a single religious establishment; but it is more varied and much larger, consisting of fifty-two documents. The importance of these documents is obvious, for they open up the possibilities of looking at the history of the Punjab of this period from an entirely different angle. We are aware that their value will be determined ultimately by the use to which they are put by the student of history; we cannot help remarking, however, that these documents have a serious bearing on our knowledge of the period they cover. And they contain implications of significance.

The earliest of these documents comes from the last decade of the seventeenth century and the last comes from the early years of British rule in the Punjab. They cover thus a period of more than a century and a half. They relate for the most part to the region called the Upper Bari Doab,[54] and their value for local or regional history is unmistakable. Furthermore these documents come from several rulers or their representatives—the Mughal Governors of Lahore and other Mughal administrators, the autonomous Sikh Chiefs of the late eighteenth century, Ranjit Singh and his successors, Sikh Princes and officials, and in one case, the British administrators.

In their historical context, the documents of this collection fall into two broad groups: the first seventeen may be aptly called "Mughal" and the rest, excepting only the last one which is British, may be termed "Sikh" documents. Each of these groups may be discussed to suggest their obvious significance.

To appreciate the Mughal documents of this collection it is necessary first to have some idea of the Mughal Governors of the Punjab after the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Zakariya Khan succeeded his father, Abdul Samad Khan, as the *sūbadār* of Lahore in the eighth year of Muhammad Shah's reign, in A.D. 1726. He held the *sūbadāri* for nearly twenty years and is reputed to have been the most powerful Governor of Lahore. In A.D. 1739 he was recommended by Nadir Shah to the Mughal Emperor and was given the *mansab* of eight thousand with the title of Saif-ud-Daulah II; he was also given the charge of Multan where his son Hayatullah Khan (Shah Nawaz Khan) was appointed as his deputy.[55] Zakariya Khan's chief problem, as presented by the historians of the Punjab, was to deal with the irrepressible Sikhs whom he "persecuted" with a zeal and vigour bordering on fanaticism. Nevertheless, Anand Ram Mukhlis was nostalgic about the "peace and prosperity given by the just rule of Zakariya Khan".[56] Virtually nothing is known of his administration beyond some appreciative generalizations.[57] Dr. H. R. Gupta incidentally mentions that sometime after A.D. 1739, he leased out the land to *ijāradārs* in an unsuccessful attempt to solve his increasing financial difficulties.[58] Zakariya Khan died on July 1, 1745.

After Zakariya Khan's death, his son Yahiya Khan succeeded to the *sūbadāri* of Lahore in the face of opposition from his brother Shah Nawaz Khan who was also a claimant to the office.[59] In spite of Qamruddin Khan's support, the formal appointment of Yahiya Khan was delayed by six months, until January 3, 1746. Before the end of that year, Shah Nawaz Khan marched upon Lahore and, after a sharp engagement, obliged Yahiya Khan to pay Rs 6,00,000. With this wealth, he retired towards Batala and seized "many districts belonging to Yahiya Khan". In March, 1747, Shah Nawaz Khan once again marched upon Lahore and defeated his brother. After March 21, 1747, Shah Nawaz Khan was the Governor of Lahore for all practical purposes until January 11, 1748, when he was defeated by Ahmad Shah Abdali and fled to Delhi.[60] Apart from the political struggle of Yahiya Khan and Shah Nawaz Khan and their attempts to deal with the Sikhs, very little is known of their Governorships from July, 1745 to January, 1748. Nevertheless, Shah Nawaz Khan is described as "a man of intemperate habits and blood thirsty character", even more cruel than Nadir Shah; and his administration is believed to have been marked by "excessive tyranny and oppression".[61]

Shah Nawaz Khan was replaced by Qamruddin Khan's son, Muin-ul-Mulk, commonly called Mir Mannu, who had defeated Ahmad Shah Abdali in March, 1748 and was appointed to Lahore only a few days before Muhammad Shah's death on April 15, 1748. Shah Nawaz Khan was given the charge of Multan and, encouraged probably by Safdar Jang at the Mughal court, entertained hostility towards the new Governor of Lahore. Muin-ul-Mulk sent Diwan Kaura Mal against Shah Nawaz Khan who was defeated and killed in September, 1750. In March, 1752, Muin-ul-Mulk himself was defeated by Ahmad Shah Abdali, but was reinstalled by him at Lahore with the titles of *Farzand* and *Rustam-i-Hind*. The Mughal provinces of Lahore and Multan were formally ceded to Ahmad

Shah Abdali on April 13, 1752. With the name of Muin-ul-Mulk are associated valour, discipline, vigour and diplomacy and, much more so, a rigorous "persecution" of the Sikhs.[62] An interesting aspect of Muin-ul-Mulk's policy is mentioned, almost incidentally, by Dr. H. R. Gupta. Mir Mannu raised troops, "mostly Turks of Central Asia, belonging to his own race" on whom he could best rely.[63] This patronage of the "foreigners" appears to have brought some important individuals from amongst them to the forefront of administration and the politics of Lahore.

After Muin-ul-Mulk's death on November 3, 1753, governors of Lahore changed frequently with the support or connivance or even in spite of the Mughal Emperors at Delhi and the Afghan Emperor at Qandahar. In the midst of contending individuals and factions and shifting alliances and allegiance, the formal position of the Governor of Lahore became not a little indeterminate; the rapid changes in the occupants of that position were accompanied perhaps by transitory rewards to the supporters of temporary success and some of the administrative functions were delegated to the overmighty *faujdārs* and *dīwāns*. In any case, Ahmad Shah Abdali decided to take up the administration of Lahore and, in April, 1757, appointed his son Timur Shah to its *sūbadārī*.[64] Thus, in a sense Muin-ul-Mulk may be regarded as the last "Mughal" and the first "Afghan" Governor of Lahore.

If we now turn to the Mughal documents in this collection, we find that there are three *parwānas* of the Mughal Governors of Lahore, issued one each by Zakariya Khan, Shah Nawaz Khan and Muin-ul-Mulk. All the three relate to concessions given by the Government to the *mahants* of Pindori. In the fifteenth year of Muhammad Shah's reign, on December 28, 1732, Zakariya Khan ordered the *dāroghas* of the Shah Nahr not to levy *nahrāna* from a village which belonged to Gosain Ramdas of Pindori, "keeping in view the sanctity of the establishment" (Document III). It may also be noted here that, in Document X there is a reference to Zakariya Khan's *patta-i-istimrār* for another village belonging to Gosain Ramdas.[65] This modest but concrete information on Zakariya Khan's attention to revenue administration and his consideration for the *mahants* of Pindori affords some insight into the character of his rule. Such an insight is equally welcome in the case of Shah Nawaz Khan and of Muin-ul-Mulk. We have no doubt that document X was issued by Shah Nawaz Khan, even though the name on the seal of this document is Muhammad Hayat (and not Hayatullah).[66] Two months after having ousted Yahiya Khan from Lahore, Shah Nawaz Khan ordered that the old arrangements regarding two villages belonging to Gosain Ramdas of Pindori should be continued; one of these villages had been revenue-free and the other on *patta-i-istimrār*. Muin-ul-Mulk too confirmed the concessions given by Yahiya Khan to Gosain Ramdas regarding both those villages in the *jāgīr of* Yahiya Khan, wishing to succour the holy men so that they may "remain occupied with praying for the everlasting dominion" (Document XII). Even as a continuation of an established Mughal practice, the patronage of a non-Muslim religious establishment by the Mughal Governors of Lahore is not without significance.[67] It may be added, however, that the concessions granted by the Mughal Governors of Lahore are a reflection also of their own policies or sentiments, for there are fresh concessions given in the eighteenth century and apparently not through any royal *farmāns*.

There are two proper *pattas* of *istimrār* in these Mughal documents. One of these was issued by Shah Nawaz Khan on December 21, 1747, with his new seal meant probably to mark his new status (Document XI).[68] The villages for which this *patta* was given had been sold by its proprietors to one Mirza Sadullah Beg (Document IV) in the beginning of A.D. 1738, but within ten years it had come into the possession of Gosain Ramdas. The *patta* bears the usual form of the *pattas* of this class. The annual revenue stipulated for the first year is the lowest (Rs. 250/-) and for the third year, the highest (Rs. 505/-). It is interesting to note that this fixed annual revenue (Rs. 505/-, to be paid in cash) is for 1900 *ghumāons* (Document IV). The endorsements on the reverse of this *patta* indicate that it had gone through all the formalities of the provincial office. The other *patta-i-istimrār* (Document XVI) was issued by one Gur Sahai on September 12, 1755. This was precisely the phase of *de facto* Governors at Lahore, none of whom held a formal appointment. Gur Sahai appears to have assumed for himself an administrative prerogative of the provincial Governors, at least in one of these documents. It is affirmed in this *patta* that the fixed annual revenue of a village of 300 *ghumāons* was reduced from four hundred to two hundred and seventy rupees. The village in question is stated to be in the *jāgīr* of Nawab Bhikhari Khan who is said to have died in April, 1755.[69] Probably Bhikhari Khan had a longer life; and his importance at Lahore in the mid-1750s does not come out in the chronicles in which he finds some mention.

The other Mughal documents in this collection also give some information on the administrative history of the Upper Bari Doab, though not much on its political history. From Documents IV, V, VI and IX, it appears that the *qāzi* at Pathankot had the *parganas* of Kathua and Paniyal as well as the *pargana* of Pathan under his jurisdiction. At least two other *parganas* in this region had each a *qāzi* of its own: one at Batala and the other at Kahnuwan (Documents I and II). It is interesting to note that the *qāzi* of Paniyal in Document XVII refers to the regnal year of Shah Alam at a time (A.D. 1769) when most of the Upper Bari Doab had come under Sikh rule. From Documents II and VIII, it appears that in the case of a serious dispute regarding property more than one *qāzi* and even the *faujdār* was associated with the legal decision. It may be noted in this connection that the *faujdār* of the *chakla* of Jammu had his jurisdiction over Pathankot; also that Adina Beg Khan was holding that very important *faujdāri* already by A. D. 1736-37 (Document VIII). The deeds of lease, sale and mortgage were normally executed in the *qāzi's* office but in Document VII the deed of the "conditional" sale of a house in Lahore has been executed in the *mufti's* office. Two of these documents do not bear the *qāzi's* seal. One of these (XIII) embodies the settlement of a boundary dispute and the other (XIV) is a deed of "conditional" sale. The latter would normally be expected to have gone to the *qāzi's* court. Nevertheless, the legal validity of both these documents appears to have been taken for granted.

The Mughal documents of this collection are as valuable for the social and economic history of the region to which they relate as for its administrative and political history. In Document I, for instance, the descendant of a Shaikh who had been granted some *madad-i-maʿāsh* land in the neighbourhood of Batala lives in the town and leases out eight *ghumāons* of his inherited property for five and a half years to a non-Muslim for eighty-eight rupees. In Document II, the Muslim *māliks* and *muqaddams* of a village in *pargana* Kahnuwan sell their entire village for seven hundred rupees to the non-Muslim *qānūngo* of Batala, except the mosques and the graveyard and the lanes. The descriptions of deponents on several of these documents suggest that it was as common to wear earrings as to have pockmarks in those days, at least in this region. In Document IV, 1900 *ghumāons* of land are sold for only Rs. 900/-, may be partly because the land is in the old bed of the Ravi and close to its course. The appearance of Hindu and Muslim witnesses on one and the same document, of which there are several instances in this collection, may be taken as a fair indication of their mutually amicable relations in their day to day lives. In Document VII, the Muslim *muhalladār* of Old Haji Sarai in Lahore is associated with the conditional sale of a two storeyed house which is being sold for one hundred and eight rupees by one non-Muslim to another. In both the communities, there were individuals who appear to revel in litigation and dispute and others who honoured their pledged word. Documents XIV and XVIII only confirm that *madad-i-ma'āsh* land could be inherited and sold or mortgaged, like any other property, irrespective of the religious affiliation of the vendor and the vendee.

Perhaps enough has been said to suggest the importance of the Mughal documents in this collection. And, since our aim by no means is to exhaust their significance, we may now pass on to the Sikh group.

The subject matter of the Sikh group of documents in this collection is limited almost to the patronage of the *mahants* of Pindori by the Sikh rulers and, to that extent, its importance as a group suffers in comparison with the Mughal documents which have a wider range. In the Sikh documents there are not much data for the economic and social history of the Upper Bari Doab during the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century. Nevertheless, the group as a whole is definitely more important than the Mughal, not simply because the number of these documents is much larger but chiefly because they provide fresh data on Sikh polity and government. Consequently, they are likely to impel the historian to look upon the nature of Sikh polity in an altogether new light.

While introducing the *madad-i-ma'āsh* documents from the Jakhbar collection, we had remarked that, though the states of medieval India were not welfare states in the modern sense of that term, the medieval rulers did extend their patronage to individuals and institutions as an act of charity.[70] We had also underlined that this charity was not confined to the co-religionists of the rulers, particularly after the reign of Akbar who, in a sense, had "Indianized" the institution of *madad-i-ma'āsh*.[71] We do not know if the patronage extended by the Sikh rulers to the non-Sikh individuals and institutions has been taken for granted; but no historian has so far paid any attention to this aspect of the Sikh rule. Dr. H. R. Gupta, whose work on the history of the Sikhs during the eighteenth century is the most elaborate of all, has noted, rather casually, that "there were religious and charitable grants made as freeholds by way of endowments for *gurdwāras*, temples and for charitable distribution".[72] Similarly, Dr. N. K. Sinha has noted that Ranjit Singh was "superior to communal prejudices" and publicly expressed his regard for Muslim saints and favoured the Sayyids in the matters of assessment.[73] J. D. Cunningham had noted that according to the estimates of A.D. 1844, the total revenues of the Lahore State amounted to over three *krors* of rupees and nearly one-fifteenth of these fell under "eleemosynary". A substantial portion of these "alms" was meant for the non-Sikhs.[74]

The Sikh documents in the present collection are enough to show that in patronizing the non-Sikhs Ranjit Singh was following the practice of his Sikh predecessors.

There are six autonomous Sikh Chiefs here who patronized the *mahants* of Pindori. In fact, it may not be unsafe to presume that the *madad-i-maʿāsh* grants of the Mughal times, given to non-Muslim institutions or individuals, were confirmed by the Sikh rulers. For instance, the old grant of revenue-free land in Kahnuwan to the *mahants* of Pindori was confirmed by Hakumat Singh in A.D. 1752 and 1755; by Gaura Singh in A.D. 1761 and 1768; and by Sada Kaur in A.D. 1798. Jai Singh Kanhaiya confirmed all the grants given to the *mahants* of Pindori by the Mughal rulers (Document XXIV); they were confirmed again by Sada Kaur (Document XXX). Another old grant was confirmed by Gurbakhsh Singh (Document XXVI). The persistence with which the authority of "the olden times" is invoked in these documents suggests that the old grants were confirmed almost on principle.

This is not to suggest, however, that revenue-free lands or other concessions were not granted afresh. In A.D. 1773, half the revenues of a village were conferred upon the *mahant* of Pindori in the very beginning of the Sikh rule in the area (Document XXIII). An entire village was made revenue-free to the *mahants* by Jai Singh (Document XXXII). In A.D. 1788 transit-duty was remitted on the goods of the *mahants* crossing the river Beas (Document XXV). Amar Singh conferred twenty-four *ghumāons* of land upon Mahant Keshav Das in A.D. 1789 (Document XXVII).

Ranjit Singh too confirmed the old grants and gave new ones of his own. In A.D. 1815, a grant of one hundred and twenty five *ghumāons to* Mahant Narotam Das was confirmed by Ranjit Singh (Document XXXV), and a village was granted to him in the year following. In A.D. 1842, Sher Singh granted a village to Mahant Narotam Das and five *ghumāons* of land to Mahant Ganga Das in

A.D. 1845 (Documents XLVI and XLVII). Two villages were made revenue-free to Mahant Narotam Das by Prince Kharak Singh in A.D. 1818; in the previous year he had confirmed a grant of seventy *ghumāons* in three villages in Jammu area (Document XL & XXXVIII). Prince Kharak Singh's generosity in the matters of revenue-free grants appears to have been quite remarkable (Documents XXXIX & XLIII). The example of the Maharaja and the Prince was followed by Tara Singh and Misr Ram Dayal (Documents XLIV & XLIX). It may be safely stated that the establishment of Pindori was more affluent in the Sikh times than ever before or, perhaps, after.

The evidence presented by the earliest Sikh documents in this collection has an important bearing on the beginnings of Sikh power in the Upper Bari Doab. Dr. H. R. Gupta places the "beginning of Sikh territorial occupation" generally in A.D. 1758-59. Yet he quotes others with approval that the Sikhs had "made themselves masters of a considerable part of the Doab of Ravi", as early as A.D. 1748, during the first invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali.[75] But Dr. Gupta's more serious view is that even in A.D. 1751-52 the Sikhs merely "sacked" the Bari Doab and acquired "rich booty".[76] Even upto A.D. 1756, we hear of Sikh "depredations"; but at the same time they "seem to have comfortably settled in the Upper Bari Doab".[77] According to Dr. Gupta, the *Rākhī* or protection of life and property on the payment of a fifth of the produce from the land, which was established by the Sikhs between A.D. 1753 and 1757, supplied them with "the idea of raising themselves into territorial chieftains".[78]

This uncertainty about "territorial occupation" by the Sikhs appears to arise from the abundant but vague and conflicting information supplied by the chronicles. J. D. Cunningham, who had only meagre evidence at his command, makes the direct and positive statement that during the second invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali the Sikhs had "virtually possessed themselves of the country lying between Amritsar and the hills".[79] This is borne out for a part of this tract by the first two Sikh documents in this collection. In A.D. 1752, Hukumat Singh was issuing orders to the *āmils* of *pargana* Kahnuwan from the town itself (Document XVIII). This was repeated by him in A.D. 1755 (Document XIX). It may be noted in this connection that Jai Singh Kanhaiya had prepared his seal already in A.D. 1750 (Document XXV). It may, therefore, be suggested that by the mid-eighteenth century quite a few Sikh *sardārs* had decided to occupy and administer territories wherever and whenever they could. Indeed, the hectic activity of Muin-ul-Mulk and Ahmad Shah Abdali against the Sikhs becomes understandable when we know, as the contemporaries knew, that the Sikhs were out to establish their own rule in the early 1750s. Consequently, the background to this situation also needs re-interpretation.

Furthermore, these documents oblige us to re-examine the concepts of theocracy, the *Dal Khalsa* or even the *misl* as they are generally applied to Sikh polity. Theocracy in its application to the government of the Sikhs appears to be little more than this: that each individual *sardār* thought of his power and authority as derived from God. This situation is neatly embodied in the earliest seals, as also in the later ones: they all invoke God's help and name the individual *sardār* as the source of authority and power. To conceive of the *Dal Khalsa* as a formal or an institutionalized body, with a bearing on Sikh government, is to misconstrue the nature of its components, the individual leaders. Too much appears to have been made also of the unity of the *mis*.[80] At any rate, what we find in these documents is that each *sardār* is exercising his power and authority in his own name.[81] Document XXVII is particularly interesting in this connection, for Amar Singh is generally regarded as the *misldār* of Jai Singh Kanhaiya.

Ranjit Singh's position in this respect was not different from that of his Sikh predecessors. J. D. Cunningham, inspired by the Romantic idea of "nationalism", looked upon Ranjit Singh as the hero of the Sikh "nation".[82] According to him, Ranjit Singh never assumed the title of despot; he styled himself and the Sikh people collectively "the Khalsa" or the "commonwealth of Gobind", and on his seal he wrote "God the helper, Ranjit Singh."[83] Dr. N. K. Sinha writes that Ranjit Singh "might have been absolute, but he always acted in the name of the Khalsa. He did not assume the title of king but rather the impersonal designation *Sarkār* to denote the source of orders. In referring to his government he always used the term Khalsaji or *Sarkār* Khalsa. On his seals he had the inscription "God the help of Ranjit".[84] Ranjit Singh's latest biographer also believes that his title was given to him by "that mystic entity the Panth Khalsaji"; his government was not to be a personal affair "but the *Sarkār* Khalsaji"; and his title was to be a plain one: *Singh Sahib*.[85] Now, it is not our purpose to belittle the three best historians of Ranjit Singh, but their inferences here do not appear to be valid.

These documents seem to clarify this crucial point regarding the nature of Sikh government. In Document XXII, the term *'aml-i-khālsajio* is used to refer to the government of the issuing authority, Sahib Singh.[86] In Document XXIII, the term *dharm-i-khālsajio* is used to refer to the moral obligation of the donor. In Document XXVII, the term *daulat-i-sarkār* refers to the dominion or wealth of the donor, Amar Singh. In Document XXVI, the term *sarkār* refers to Gurbakhsh Singh; in Document XLIV, to Tara Singh. In Documents XXIX and XXX *Khālsaji* refers to Gurbakhsh Singh (in actual fact, Sada Kaur). The term *Singh Sahib* has been used for Jai Singh Kanhaiya in Documents XXXII and XXXIV; for Prince Kharak Singh in Document XLIII; and for Maharaja Sher Singh in Document XLVIII. It is evident, first, that Ranjit Singh was not alone in using the terms *Khālsaji* and *Singh Sahib*. It is also evident that the term *Khālsaji* refers to the individual and not to any collective or mystic entity. We have already expressed ourselves on the significance of "*Akāl Sahāi*" on the seals. We may suggest therefore, that the power and authority of the Sikh state was considered to be vested in the person of the ruler. This is as true of the autonomous Sikh principalities of the eighteenth century as of the government of Ranjit Singh and his successors.[87]

A few words may be added about the administration of *dharmarth* or *bhet*.[88] In Document XLI, there is a statement about one *dharmarth* grant that its entry was very much there in the *khasra-i-ʻaml*. This is a document of A.D. 1818-19. It may be presumed, however, that this procedure was not an innovation of Ranjit Singh. In fact the practice appears to have survived from the Mughal times. The offices of the *patwāri* and the *qānūngo* were kept up and there would have been no difficulty about keeping the land-revenue records on old established lines. What was granted through *dharmarth* or *bhet* was the revenues due to the government which went to the grantee. This is explicitly stated in several documents. There is one explicit reference to culturable waste to be measured and handed over to the grantee. In such cases probably the land became the grantee's property, apart from being revenue-free. Revenues granted could be collected by the grantee directly from the cultivators or proprietors, but it was the *āmil's (kārdār's)* duty to see that the grantee received his share.[89] It appears that the princes and other *jāgīrdārs* could give revenue-free grants from their *jāgīrs.*

III. THE DOCUMENTS

Our experience of *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar* suggests that the substance of all the documents presented in the form of a table, for the most part in a chronological order, may be more useful, particularly for the purpose of a ready reference, than a discussion of each document separately. We feel, however, that some preliminary remarks are necessary for a better appreciation of the abstract of documents which we are giving in this section.

In the present collection, we came upon ten documents which do not bear the date of their preparation. Not all of these, however, are difficult to place in their proper order. In Document I, for instance, though the date is missing the year A.H. 1107 is mentioned in the text; and one of the seals in the margin also bears this date. If we keep in view the nature of this document, it becomes quite safe to infer that it was prepared in or shortly before A.H. 1107 (A.D. 1695). In document VI, the last month of the year A.H. 1149 (April, 1737 A.D.) is mentioned in a context which suggests that the document itself would be drawn up very probably in A.H. 1150 (A.D. 1737-38). In Document VIII, the reference to Yahiya Khan as the contemporary Governor of Lahore indicates that it was drawn up in A.D. 1745-46. In Document IX, one of the seals bears the date A.H. 1159, which indicates that the document was drawn up in or after A.D. 1746. At any rate, a reference to the fifth regnal year (which in the context of this document can be the fifth regnal year only of the reigning monarch, Muhammad Shah) suggests that it was drawn up not very long after A.D. 1746. On Document XLI, the date in the seal is Samvat 1871 (A.D. 1814); the order contained in the document is issued by Moti Ram from Nurpur which was conquered by Ranjit Singh in A.D. 1815; and, since we know that Moti Ram was appointed to Nurpur in 1818 and left that place in A.D. 1819, the document may be safely placed in A.D. 1818-19.

A few of these documents do present the difficulty of determining their dates. Document XV, for example, does not offer any very certain clue to the date of its preparation. However, there is on this the seal of a witness, Har Sahai, with the regnal year 26; and this seal appears also on the documents of the reigns of Ahmad Shah and Shah Alam. We may infer, therefore, that this seal was made in the reign of Muhammad Shah. It does not follow, however, that the document also belongs to Mahammad Shah's reign. Two of the other witnesses of this document appear on a document probably of Alamgir II's reign (Document XIV). That Document XV also may be from Alamgir II's reign is not impossible. Its subject matter is closely connected with that of Document XVI (which certainly belongs to the reign of Alamgir II). Though it may be just a coincidence that the request made in Document XV is being granted in Document XVI, we are tempted to place the one before the other, particularly when we find no evidence militating against the possibility of Document XV belonging to the reign of Ahmad Shah, or even of Alamgir II.

The dates of Documents XXIII and XXIV too are not easy to determine with any precision. The former has no seal and the latter has no date. The use of the phrases *b'fazl-Satguru ji* and *tafāwat nīst,* which have been used in these documents, and a comparison of the word *sahi* on both the documents suggest that their author was Jai Singh Kanhaiya whose seal appears on Document XXIV. This impression is strengthened by the statement in Document XXIII that the area around the village in question (Lahri Gosain—see the Map) had come under the sway of the author of this document in Samvat 1830 (A.D. 1773). However, though we feel strongly that Jai Singh was the author of Document XXIII and also that both these documents should be placed with the third document of Jai Singh in this collection (XXV, of 21 May, 1788 A.D.), we confess that the order in which they are placed is quite arbitrary. Document XXIII might as well belong to the 1780's as Document XXIV to the 1770's; or, both of them may be later even than Document XXV, for Jai Singh died in A.D. 1793. In placing these three documents together before those of Gurbakhsh Singh, we have simply given precedence to the father over the son.

Documents XXVI and XXVIII also refuse to be pinned down to a particular year or even a decade. In placing these documents in the present order we have been guided more perhaps by instinct than by rational conviction. These two documents should be seen in relation to six other documents in this collection which bear the seal of Gurbakhsh Singh (XXIX—XXXIV). They are all dated; and the earliest comes from A.D. 1798, that is, about five years after the death of Jai Singh Kanhaiya and more than twelve years after the death of his son, Gurbakhsh Singh in A.D. 1785. We are inclined to believe that in these six documents Gurbakhsh Singh's seal was used by his widow, Sada Kaur, after the death of her husband and of her father-in-law. Now, if we carefully examine the inscriptional letters of the seal on Document XXVI, we find that this seal is different from the one used on Documents XXIX—XXXIV. We are, therefore, disposed to infer that the seal on Document XXVI was used by Gurbakhsh Singh in his lifetime. The name in the seal on Document XXVIII reads "Harbakhsh Singh". But a close examination of the letters makes one wonder if what was meant really was not "Gurbakhsh Singh". The inferior quality of this seal suggests the possibility of its use by Sada Kaur before she came to use the better one that appears on Documents XXIX—XXXIV. In that case, Document XXVIII may be placed between A.D. 1793 and 1798. This, at any rate, is what we have virtually done.[90]

Turning to the nature of the documents in this collection, if we consider the terms used for them in many of the documents themselves as well as the known forms of official documents, it is not difficult to classify them. There is one *girvināma;* there are two letters, two *tazkaras,* two *fārighkhatis* and two *bhetnāmas ;* three *pattas* of lease and three *bai'nāmas ;* five *mahzars* and five *pattas* of *yād-dāsht;* and there are twenty-seven *parwānas.* The terms *girvinama, fārighkhati, patta* of lease, *mahzar* and *bai'nāma* bear their usual connotation and hardly need any comments here. The term *tazkara* is used in Document XIII and XV. In both of these a statement of the case is made and attestations are invited from respectable witnesses to certify the veracity of the statement *(tazkara).*[91] The Documents XXIV and XXXVII, which have been designated as letters, are not strictly speaking personal letters; but they are closer to a missive than to anything else. The use of the term *bhetnāma* for Document V and XLVI may be a little inappropriate. The former can be called a *hibānāma* in the context of the Mughal times and the latter is actually a royal grant of *madad-i-ma'āsh* land. In both of these, however, the term used to refer to their nature is *bhet.* The Documents XXII, XXIII, XXVII, XXIX and XLIII are called *patta-i-yād-dāsht* by their authors, but all of them relate to grants, or their confirmation, of *madad-i-ma'āsh* land. This connotation might appear to be a little unusual, but there cannot be any doubt that it was prevalent in the Sikh times. The term *parwāna,* which has been used for twenty-seven of these documents, is not very satisfactory. What is common to them all is that they contain official "order" to the subordinates of the authorities issuing the *parwāna.* But the term covers indiscriminately the "orders" of Mughal Provincial Governors, the autonomous Sikh Chiefs, the Sikh Princes and *Diwans* and Governors and *Jāgīrdārs.* However, there is ample justification in using a term which was used by the contemporaries.

In a few of these documents, the exact position of the issuing authority is not very clear. In Document XIII, for instance, the principal seal is apparently of Muhiyuddin Khan who does not appear to be a *qāzi.* The attestations to this document are by *chaudharis* and *zamīndārs.* It is not certain that Muhiyuddin Khan himself is connected with the document in any official capacity. Therefore, this *tazkara* appears to be only an unofficial or at best a semi-official document. This is equally true of Document XV. On Document XIV, there is no seal. There is little doubt, however, that this deed should have been executed ordinarily in the office of the *qāzi* (or the *mufti*). The use of the term *bai'-i-wafā* (i.e. conditional sale) in this document suggests that the final deed could be executed in the *qāzi's* office and, if the need arose, the present document could serve as the basis. Though not strictly official, this kind of document, with the force of the opinion of respectable individuals and rural officials behind it, must have carried much weight with the *qāzi's* court. In Document XVI, which is a *patta-i-istimrār,* Gur Sahai's position is not clear. The other *patta-i-istimrār* in this collection (XI) was issued by the Governor of Lahore (Shah Nawaz Khan). It is possible that Gur Sahai was acting on behalf of some Provincial Governor who in the first place had decided to reduce the amount of the *jama'-i-istimrār.*[92] It is interesting to note that this authority is being exercised in the *jāgīr* of Bhikhari Khan.[93]

Some of the obvious significance of the documents in this collection has been discussed already in "The Context" and the minor peculiarities of each document will be noted in the annotation. The content of each document is briefly given in the abstract. Only a few general remarks about the character of these documents may therefore suffice at this place.

Most of these documents are in a good condition. The most obvious exceptions are Documents I, VIII, XV and XLVIII. A portion of the first, the oldest in this collection, is no longer intact and, consequently, it has not been fully transcribed. Its substance, however, is clear enough, and it has been possible for us to reconstruct the years of lease from our knowledge of the Turkish duodenary cycle. Documents VIII, XV and XLVIII are torn at places; and, except in the last case, it has not been possible to transcribe these completely. Fortunately the missing portions are not of any vital importance.

Not all of these documents bear an easily legible handwriting. A large number of Arabic legal terms in Document II, for instance, add to the difficulty of deciphering its formidable *shikasta.* The descriptions of deponents in some of the *mahzars,* particularly in Document VII, have been deciphered largely and only through a patient comparison with one another. The deceptively simple form and the small size of the Sikh documents contain in several cases a most difficult formation of words. Documents XXVI and XXVIII may be seen as examples. In Document XLIII, the continuation of the text in the margin is given from below upwards and such an informality of the scribe may cost a persistent student several hours of labour before he discovers the innocent trick. It may be a mere coincidence, but all the "copies" in this collection (VI, XXXI & XLVI) are easier to read than the majority of original documents.

The Mughal documents have more of a set form than the Sikh documents. The seals on the former are much more beautiful than those on the latter group. The seal of Qazi Qutbuddin (Document XVII), for instance, is decidedly more elegant than the seals of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Nine out of the seventeen Mughal documents were issued from the *qāzi's* office which, with a tradition of several centuries behind it, appears to have turned meticulousness into a convention. Four of the Mughal documents were issued from the Governor's office at Lahore with a neat formality of diction and calligraphy and with the usual endorsements on the reverse, indicating the channels through which the documents had passed before the Governor's seal was put upon them. The only Sikh document to reveal signs of an elaborate procedure is Document L and this, significantly, was issued in the time of the Regency.[94] The remaining four Mughal documents bear a close formal resemblance to either the Governor's *parwāna* or the *qāzi's mahzar.*

Nearly all the Mughal documents of this collection relate to what for the Mughal officials had become matters of routine—the lease of land, infringement of instructions regarding one or another of the *abwāb,* sale of some landed or residential property or its mortgage, transfer of proprietary rights from one party to another with mutual goodwill, confirmation or modification of old arrangements regarding land and settlement of boundary disputes. The disputes about *bai'* and *hiba* too were perhaps not uncommon. Documents II and VIII relate to two such disputes and the large number of principal seals on these documents may signify the importance attached to these disputes by all concerned, including the administrators.

Nearly all, thirty-two of the thirty-four, Sikh documents in this collection relate to concessions given by the state to the *mahants* of Pindori. The simplicity and informality of these documents should not conceal their essential resemblance with the Mughal documents of this class. In the first place, there are some obvious features which the Sikh documents share with the Mughal—the *sarnāma,* the seal and *"sahi"* (the counterpart of *Sād).* The term *dharmarth* or *bhet* used in these documents for revenue-free land is the counterpart of the Mughal *madad-i-ma'āsh, in'ām* or *ā'imma.* Instead of making a full statement about the concession granted, the Sikh documents imply it in the term *mu'āf, wāguzār* or *marfū'ul-qalm.* In some of them, moreover, the concession given is explicitly stated; and the benefit expected by the donor is indicated. In Document XXIX, for instance, the *hāsilāt-i-zamīn* (produce from the land) is to go to the *mahant* who in turn is expected to pray for the well-being of the person and the dominion of the *Khālsaji,* the donor. In Document XXX, the concession are referred to as (freedom from) *kul rasūmāt wā takālīf-i-kār-o-begār.* In Document, XLVI, some of the language used appears to be taken directly as it were from a Mughal imperial *farmān: "kih hāsilāt-i-ānjā fasl b'fasl sāl b'sāl sarf-i-māihtāj-i-khud āwurdah dar istid'ā-i-daulat-o-iqbāl mashghūl bāshand".* Thus, not only the substance but also the form of the Sikh *dharmarth* documents reveal an essential resemblance with the Mughal *madad-i-ma'āsh* documents. The date on the former is given as invariably as on the latter.[95] If there is much of the inessential formulary missing from the Sikh documents, there is at least one significant addition; the name of the place at which the orders were passed is given in nearly all of them.

Jai Singh Kanhaiya and Ranjit Singh in their letters (Documents XXIV and XXXVII) use some of the most flattering epithets for the addressees. If that is to be taken as a measure of the veneration entertained by the Sikh rulers for the holy men, they were anticipated by the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb who, in Document VIII of *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar,* addresses Jogi Anand Nath as "The possessor of the Sublime Station, Shiv Murat, Guru Anand Nath Jio! " And, like the Mughal Emperors, Jai Singh Kanhaiya refers to his government as *Sarkār-i-Muʿallā* (Document XXV); Ranjit Singh refers to himself as *Huzūr-i-Anwar* (Document XXXV) and to his order as *hukm-i-ʿālī* or *hukm-i-aqdas* (Document XLII).[96]

It is remarkable, finally, that the formal resemblance between the Sikh and Mughal documents increases with the passage of time.[97]

ABSTRACT OF THE DOCUMENTS

No.	Date	Nature	Authority	Content
I	(In or before) *A.H. 1107* A.D. 1695	*Patta* (5½ years *ijāra*)	Qazi Sayyid Hasan Muhammad	Shaikh Mahbub Alam of Batala gives his *ā'imma* land (8 *ghumāons*, irrigated by well) in the village Paighambarpur in the *tappa* and *pargana* Batala for five and a half years for Rs. 88/- to Ram Ratan, the disciple of Mai Bhagan.
II	*5 Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1123* 12 April, 1711	*Mahzar*	Qazi Muhammad Waliullah	The Rajput (Muslim) *māliks* and *muqaddams* of the village Yadgarpur in *pargana* Kahnuwan record the sale of their entire possesions in the village for Rs. 700/- to Mohan Lal, a Puri *Khatri*, the *qānūṅgo* of Batala.
III	*22 Rajab, 1145* 28 Dec., 1732	*Parwāna*	Zakariya Khan	The *dāroghas* of Shahnahr are ordered not to levy *nahrāna* on the village Talibpur, in *pargana* Batala, which had been purchased from its *māliks* by Rai Bhawani Das, the *āmil* of *pargana* Tibbar Hastpur, and given as an offering to Gosain Ramdas of Pindori.

No.	Date	Nature	Authority	Content
IV	*5 Shawwal, 1150* 15 Jan., 1738	*Mahzar*	Qazi Muinuddin	The Gujjar (Muslim) *māliks* and *muqaddams* of the village Gajju Basaun in *pargana* Kathua have sold this entire village of 1900 *ghumāons* for Rs. 900/- to Mirza Sadullah Beg.
V	*17 Zul'hijja, 1150* 27 March, 1738	*Bhetnama*	Qazi Muinuddin	The Brahmin *māliks* and *muqaddams* of the village Jattopur (Jairampur) in *pargana* Pāthan offer their entire village to Gosain Ramdas of Pindori with all its proprietary and *zamīndārī* rights.
VI	(After) *A.H. 1149* A.D. 1736	*Mahzar*	Qazi Muinuddin	In A.H. 1149 Gosain Ramdas had gone to the village Raja Khasa in *pargana* Nurpur when he was attacked by some men of the Sannyasis who took away the documents in his possession. Attestations have been invited to certify that the villages Harirampur Sukhdev and Rasulpur Ali in *pargana* Paniyal and Bhagwanpur Saidhar, Jairampur (Jattowal) and Mahanrajpur in *pargana* Pathan belong to Gosain Ramdas.

No.	Date	Nature	Authority	Content
VII	*5 Ramzan, 1153* 13 Nov., 1740	*Bai'nāma* (Conditional)	Shaikh Muizuddin	A house in the old Haji Sarai quarter of Lahore is sold by Bakht Mal to Suchcha Ram for Rs. 108/-. The latter would pay the rent to the former until this full amount has been paid to fulfil the sale transaction.
VIII	(In or after) *A.H. 1154* A.D. 1741-42	*Mahzar*	Qazi Hidayatullah	The village Bhagwanpur Saidhar (Ibrahimpur Saidhar) in *pargana* Pathan had been purchased by Raja Ram Singh Jaswal from its Brahmin proprietors and given as an offering to Gosain Hari Ram. It remained with Gosain Sukhdev and Gosain Ramdas until Har Sahai, the son of one of the vendors, claimed his rights over the village and resorted to litigation. The case was decided against him in A.H. 1151 (A.D. 1738-39) by Qazi Muinuddin. Now that the village in question has come to form a part of the *jāgīr* of Yahiya Khan (upon transfer from Raja Muhammad Said Khan of Shah-

No.	Date	Nature	Authority	Content
				pur), Har Sahai is meditating representation to Yahiya Khan. To obviate any misrepresentation, attestations have been invited to certify the facts presented in the document.
IX	(After) *A.H. 1159* A.D. 1746	*Mahzar*	Qazi Muinuddin	The Jat (Muslim) *mazāri's* of the village Harirampur Sukhdev (Khwajapur) in *pargana* Panigal make the solemn statement that their ancestors had sold the entire village to Gosain Sukhdev in the fifth year of Muhammad Shah's reign for Rs. 501/-. That sale-deed had been accidentally lost and they re-affirm their acquiescence.
X	*Jamadi-us-Sani, 1160* May, 1747	*Parwāna*	Muhammad Hayat (Shah Nawaz Khan)	Khwaja Muhammad Said Khan is being ordered to continue with old arrangements regarding the villages Bhagwanpur Saidhar and Jairampur (Jattopur) in *pargana* Pathan for which Gosain Ramdas possessed the *pattas* of Zakariya Khan and Yahiya Khan. Jairampur had been made revenue-free by

No.	Date	Nature	Authority	Content
				Yahiya Khan and Bhagwanpur Saidhar was on a fixed annual revenue.
XI	*29 Zul'hijja, 1160* 21 Dec., 1747	*Patta-i-Istimrār*	Shah Nawaz Khan	For the village Basaun Gujjar in *pargana* Kathua, which was now in the *jāgīr* of Shah Nawaz Khan, the fixed revenue of rupees 1,100/- for three years is stipulated and it is indicated that after the third year the fixed annual revenue would be Rs. 505/-.
XII	*21 Rabi-us-Sani, 1162* 30 March, 1749	*Parwāna*	Muin-ul-Mulk	The *āmils* of *pargana* Pathan are being ordered that they should continue with the old arrangements regarding the villages Jai[illegible]ampur (Jattopur) and Bhagwanpur Saidhar which were formerly in the *jāgīr* of Yahiya Khan.
XIII	*25 Jamadi-ul-Awwal, 1164* 21 April, 1750	*Tazkara*	Muhiyuddin Khan	The *zamīndārs* of the village Dalerpur Nathu in the *pargana* Pathan had a dispute regarding the boundary between their village and the village Gajju Basaun in *pargana* Kathua

No.	Date	Nature	Authority	Content
				which was in the proprietary possession of Gosain Ramdas of Pindori. This dispute had been resolved two years earlier in the time of Adina Beg Khan (the then *faujdār* of Jammu). Some of the *zamīndārs* of Dalerpur disputed the boundary once again and the matter was referred to Muin-ul-Mulk. He ordered to determine the correct boundary, which has now been done and recorded in the documents.
XIV	*9 Muharram, 1169* 15 Oct., 1755	*Bai'nāma*	'Officials'	Khuda Bakhsh of Raipur affirms that he has sold 15 *bighas* of his hereditary *madad-i-ma'āsh* land in the village Rasulpur Ali in *pargana* Paniyal to Faiz Ullah, the *gumāshta* of Gosain Bishandas, for Rs. 15/-.
XV	Undated (1755)	*Tazkara*		The village Jagatpur Lala Saini of 300 *ghumāons* in *pargana* Pathan was largely submerged under waters of the Ravi due to excessive flooding and 260

No.	Date	Nature	Authority	Content
				ghumāons of land were claimed by the river. Attestations have been invited to certify these facts so that the petition of Gosain Bishandas for reduction in the amount of fixed annual revenue may be favourably considered by the authorities.
XVI	*5 Zul'hijja, 1169* 12 Sept., 1755	*Patta-i-Istimrār*	Gur Sahai	Much of the land of the village Jagatpur Lala Saini (300 *ghumāons*), on *pargana* Pathan, which was in the *jāgīr* of Bhikhari Khan, was submerged under water and the fixed annual revenue of Rs. 400/- has now been reduced to Rs. 270/-.
XVII	*27 Jamadi-us-Sani, 1183* 28 Oct., 1769	*Girvīnāma*	Qazi Qutbuddin (son of Muinuddin)	Shaikh Chhajju and Muizuddin have mortgaged their *ā'imma* land in the village Rasulpur Ali in *pargana* Paniyal for Rs. 49/- to the Gosain of Pindori. The land in question would become the property of the Gosain if they fail to return the full amount within three years.

No.	Date	Nature	Authority	Content
XVIII	*15 Baisakh, 1809* 2 May, 1752	*Parwāna*	Hukumat Singh	The *āmils* and *zamindārs* of Kahnuwan are ordered to treat the land and *mandi* of Baba Sarwan Nath, which have been in the possession of the *mahants* of Pindori, as revenue-free in accordance with the practice established of old, from the days of the Mughal rulers.
XIX	*5 Magh, 1812* 17 January, 1755	*Parwāna*	Hukumat Singh	The *āmils* of *pargana* Kahnuwan are ordered to treat 18 *ghumāons* of land in Kahnuwan proper as revenue-free in the name of the *mahants* of Pindori in accordance with the practice coming down from the time of the Mughal rulers.
XX	*17 Phagun, 1818* 22 March, 1761	*Parwāna*	Gaura Singh	Confirms what is in Document XVIII.
XXI	*18 Chet, 1825* 5 April, 1768	*Parwāna*	Gaura Singh	Confirms what is in Document XIX.
XXII	*1 Baisakh, 1838* 24 April, 1781	*Patta-i-Yād-dāsht*	Sahib Singh	Five *ghumāons* and two *kanāls* of land in the village Umarpur Sadat are being given to Misr Mohan Lal with effect from

No.	Date	Nature	Authority	Content
				the *rabi'* crop of A.D. 1781 in connection with the endowment upon the *sādhs* of Bhai Deva Singh.
XXIII	(After) *Samvat 1830* A.D. 1773	*Patta-i-Yād-dāsht*	Jai Singh	It is being re-affirmed that since A.D. 1773 the village Lahri Gosain had been in conferment upon the *mahant* of Pindori and Baba Badbhag Singh as revenue-free in equal halves. The arrangement was to continue, unless there was some discrepancy between this statement and the arrangements made in A.D. 1773.
XXIV	Undated	Letter	Jai Singh	The *mahant* of Pindori is given the reassurance that the villages Mahanrajpur and Jattowal and a fourth of each of the villages Saidana and Saidhar (and other villages) would continue to be revenue-free.
XXV	*1 Baisakh, 1845* 21 May, 1788	*Parwāna*	Jai Singh	The *guzarbāns* of the ferries on the river Beas are ordered to levy no transit-duty on grain

No.	Date	Nature	Authority	Content
				and other goods of the *mahants* coming from the other side of the river.
XXVI	Undated	*Parwāna*	Gurbakhsh Singh	The *zamīndārs* of Chichiyan are ordered to continue paying the revenue (in kind) to the *mahants* of Pindori who were holding the village as a revenue-free *ā'imma* since olden times.
XXVII	*1 Kartik, 1846* 19 Oct., 1789	*Patta-i-Yād-dāsht*	Amar Singh	Twenty-four *ghumāons* of land with a well and an orchard, are granted to Mahant Keshav Das as revenue-free, beginning with *kharīf* crop of A.D. 1789.
XXVIII	Undated	*Parwāna*	Harbakhsh Singh	Lala Meghraj and the *panches* of Salhupura are ordered to continue paying the revenues of the said village to the *mahants* of Pindori in accordance with the former practice.
XXIX	*11 Phagun, 1855* 26 February, 1798	*Parwāna*	Gurbakhsh Singh (Sada Kaur)	The *āmils* of *pargana* Kahnuwan are ordered to treat 18 *ghumāons* of land in Kahnuwan proper as revenue-free to the *mahants* of Pindori in accord-

No.	Date	Nature	Authority	Content
				ance with the practice of the times of the Mughal rulers.
XXX	*Samvat 1857* A.D. 1800	*Parwāna*	Gurbakhsh Singh (Sada Kaur)	The *āmils* of *ta'alluqa* Talibpura are ordered to treat the villages Bhagwanpur, Mahanrajpur, Jattowal and Dakhla as revenue-free to the *mahants* of Pindori.
XXXI	*Samvat 1860* A.D. 1803	*Parwāna*	Gurbakhsh Singh (Sada Kaur)	The *āmils* of *pargana* Pathan are ordered to treat all the villages mentioned in the preceding document and the *ā'imma* village Chichiyan as revenue-free.
XXXII	*Samvat 1865* A.D. 1808	*Parwāna*	Gurbakhsh Singh (Sada Kaur)	The *āmils* of Bianpur are ordered to treat ten *ghumāons* of land in the village Kalijpur as revenue-free in accordance with the former practice. This was an offering made by the late Sardar Jai Singh to the *mahants* of Pindori.
XXXIII	*Samvat 1865* A.D. 1808	*Parwāna*	Gurbakhsh Singh (Sada Kaur)	The *āmils* of *ta'alluqa* Talibpur are ordered to treat the land equivalent to 10 *qulbas*

No.	Date	Nature	Authority	Content
				as revenue-free to the *mahants* of Pindori in accordance with the old practice.
XXXIV	*Samvat 1866* A.D. 1809	*Parwāna*	Gurbakhsh Singh (Sada Kaur)	The orders issued in Document XXXII are reiterated.
XXXV	*Samvat 1872* A.D. 1815	*Parwāna*	Ranjit Singh	The *āmils* are ordered to treat 125 *ghumāons* of land in the village Kiri Kalan as revenue-free to Mahant Narotam Das, for the old grant has been confirmed by Ranjit Singh.
XXXVI	*Samvat 1873* A.D. 1816	*Parwāna*	Harbhaj Rai	The *zamīndārs* of Gurdas Nangal are ordered to hand over the revenues equivalent to the produce of two *ghumāons* of land to the *mahants* of Pindori to whom this grant has been given by Ranjit Singh.
XXXVII	*Samvat 1873* A.D. 1816	Letter	Ranjit Singh	Baba Amin Chand is informed that the village Lahri has been granted to Mahant Narotam Das.

No.	Date	Nature	Authority	Content
XXXVIII	*Samvat 1874* A.D. 1817	*Parwāna*	Kharak Singh	Lala Kirpa Ram and other *kārdārs* of Manawar are ordered to treat the villages Hamirpur, Gharo and Diyaura (70 *ghumāons* in all) as revenue-free to Mahant Narotam Das.
XXXIX	*Samvat 1874* A.D.1817	*Patta-i-Yād-dāsht*	Mangal Singh	Twenty-one *ghumāons* of land in Kathlaur proper have been made revenue-free to Mahant Narotam Das by Prince Kharak Singh.
XL	*Samvat 1875* A.D. 1818	*Parwāna*	Kharak Singh	Lehna Singh, Hukam Singh and Jamiat Singh are ordered not to interfere with the revenue-free land of Mahant Narotam Das in the villages Bharth and Gurdas Nangal.
XLI	(In or after) *Samvat 1871* A.D. 1814	*Parwāna*	Moti Ram	Jwala Das and Maha Sahai are ordered to treat 22 *ghumāons* of land in *ta'alluqa* Awankh as revenue-free to Mahant Narotam Das of Pindori in accordance with the old practice.
XLII	*Samvat 1877* A.D. 1820	*Parwāna*	Ranjit Singh	The *āmils* of Gharo Batala and the *Diwan-i-Māl* are ordered to

No.	Date	Nature	Authority	Content
				treat the land of Ram Devi and Ram Ratani in the village Kalala as revenue-free in accordance with the former practice.
XLIII	*Samvat 1880* A.D. 1823	*Patta-i-Yād-dāsht*	Dasaundha Singh	Twenty-five *ghumāons* of land in Kathlaur proper continue to be revenue-free to the *mahant* of Pindori in accordance with the *patta* of Prince Kharak Singh.
XLIV	*Samvat 1880* A.D. 1823	*Parwāna*	Tara Singh	The *āmils* of *pargana* Batala are ordered to start treating the land of a well as revenue-free to Mahant Narotam Das.
XLV	*Samvat 1895* A.D. 1838	*Fārighkhati*	Sher Singh	The *mahant* of Pindori, who had formally given a surety of Rs. 6,000/- for Jwala Singh, is released from that bond.
XLVI	*Samvat 1899* A.D. 1842	*Bhet-nāma* *(Patta)*	Sher Singh	The village Keso Kalal has been granted to Mahant Narotam Das as free of revenues.

No.	Date	Nature	Authority	Content
XLVII	*Samvat 1899* A.D. 1842	*Fārighkhati*	Mian Mahtab Singh	The Mian gives in writing to Mahant Narotam Das of Pindori that the goods deposited with the *mahant* at Pindori have been received back through Pandit Jalla.
XLVIII	*Samvat 1902* A.D. 1845	*Parwāna*	Ishar Das	Five *ghumāons* of land in the village Jamalpur have been given in *bhet* by Maharaja Sher Singh to Mahant Ganga Das of Pindori. All the produce from this land was to be handed over to the *mahant*.
XLIX	*Samvat 1904* A.D. 1847	*Parwāna*	Misr Ram Dayal	Chaudhari Nand Singh is ordered to hand over 25 *ghumāons* of culturable waste as revenue-free to the *mahant* of Pindori.
L	*Samvat 1905* A.D. 1848	*Parwāna*	Dalip Singh	The *kārdārs* are ordered not to demand a new *parwāna* for the revenue-free 20 *ghumāons* of land in Talibpur for which the *mahants* of Pindori possessed old *sanads* from the days of the Mughal rulers. The *kārdārs* should not allow the *zamīndārs* to interfere.

No.	Date	Nature	Authority	Content
LI	*Samvat 1905* A.D. 1848	*Parwāna*	Shankar Nath	Lala Lajpat is ordered to hand over 25 *ghumāons* of land in the village Babehali to the men of Mahant Ganga Das of Pindori as a revenue-free grant.
LII	*19 Phagun, 1915* 28 February, 1859	*Bai'nāma*	Assistant Commissioner (Sadr Registrar)	Seventy-three *ghumāons,* two *kanāls* and ten *marlas* of land in the village Mallowal, now revenue-free to Mahant Ganga Das, had been sold to the *mahants* by the Rajpuṯ (Muslim) proprietors of the village for Rs. 73/-. They re-affirm that sale in the court of the Assistant Commissioner.

Note :—In converting the Hijra dates into those of the Christian era, the regnal year of the eighteenth-century Mughal Emperors has been assumed to correspond to the lunar (Hijra) year.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Apart from the major religious houses like Jakhbar, to the documents of which we have drawn attention earlier (see, B. N. Goswamy and J. S. Grewal, *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar*, Simla 1967), Dhianpur, Lel, Dhamrai and Dera Baba Nanak, there are other establishments of which there is an impressive list in the *Gazetteer of the Gurdaspur District*, 1891-92, 61-63. "There are numerous religious houses throughout the district", says the *Gazetteer*.

2. There are several editions and commentaries of this famous seventeenth century work by Nabhaji. The most well-known of the commentaries—and the work does need commentaries because it is composed in a very terse, archaic style—is by Priyadas and bears the name of *Bhaktirasabodhini*. For an even simpler, prose version in Urdu, see Munshi Tulsiram's commentary entitled *Bhaktipradipan*, published in A.D. 1854. In this an account of Bhagwanji and Narainji is found on pages 363, 365.

3. A 'genealogical' table of the Pindori *gaddi* and of its various branches throughout India has been appended at the end of the short published history of Pindori by Pritam Ziyai, *Pindori Dhām ka Itihas*, Pindori 1961. The branches are spread from Jammu in the north to Chinapattan in the south, Girnar in the west and Ayodhya in the east.

4. The village is now popularly referred to as Pindori Mahantan, "Pindori of the Mahants", also, but in the revenue records, like the Settlement Record of 1865, the exact description of the village is "Talibpur-Pindori". It is under this name also that the village has its *hadbast* number and occurs in the *Village Directory of the Gurdaspur District*, 1958. There are several other villages in the Gurdaspur District bearing the name Pindori, like Pindori Bainsan, and Pindori, and the name Talibpur-Pindori distinguishes it from them.

5. It has the massive look and the tapering verticality which one generally associates with mid-sixteenth century structures. The possibility of Pindori being an older site than the early seventeenth century does clearly exist, but it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions from the style of architecture since some provincial styles did co-exist with the general, high Mughal style of architecture which had by then come into being.

6. The construction of this temple took place in the time of Mahant Narotam Das, but there must have been an earlier, smaller structure which must have served as the chapel in this *matha.* For details of the temple see *Pindori Dhām ka Itihas,* 73.

7. It is usual to point to subterranean caves like this as the seat where an earlier *mahant* underwent austerities and sat in meditation. This *guphā* is said to be linked, by a passage which no longer exists, with similar *guphās* in Kahnuwan and Damtal. The Kahnuwan *guphā* is the most elaborate and the most difficult of access of these three. One has literally to crawl to get to the inside of it which is completely dark and now much frequented by bats.

8. Pandit Suraj Ram describes himself in some detail as a *musavvir* of Lahore who came to Pindori and made these frescoes as *nishāni-i-khud,* to commemorate his visit to Pindori. This panel is now extremely faded having been exposed to weather for over a hundred years but one can still see the faint outline of the artist standing in an attitude of veneration and humility.

9. "The deed it is said is still preserved at the daughter shrine of Damtal, and there is no doubt that the tomb and grant were due to the munificence of the Emperor". *Gazetteer of the Gurdaspur District,* 1891-92, 22.

10. Damtal, an important Vaishnava establishment, is situated at a distance of four miles from Pathankot on the Pathankot-Jullundur road. It lay formerly in the Nurpur territory and is spelt differently as Damthal, Damtal and, in the earlier documents, even as Gumtal.

11. The history is in manuscript form and is still preserved, though not in the best of conditions, at Pindori. It is this which formed the basis of the *Pindori Dhām ka Itihas,* by Pritam Ziyat, Pujari Krishnadas calls it *Shri Bhagwan Narain ka Jeewan Charitra* and completed this during the period of Mahant Brahm Das (1887-1908). The work is the result of considerable effort and records a great deal of useful information, much of it based on the oral tradition then available at Pindori and other connected places.

12. See, document VI.

13. See, for example, references in these documents and grants made to Mahants Hari Ram and Sukh Nidhan in documents VIII and IX apart from the general references to grants dating back to "the times of the earlier Emperors". The entire set of documents owned by Mahant Ram Das at the time of the Nurpur incident referred to in document VI appears to have been lost. The documents earlier than this date that are now in the Pindori collection do not mention the names of the *mahants* and are not directly related to them. These are likely to have come into the possession of the establishment later than the Nurpur incident, as a result of gifts to the establishment by their owners. We have placed them earlier than Mahant Ram Das's first document for chronological reasons.

14. See, *Pindori Dhām ka Itihas,* 6-32. The genealogical table of the Pindori establishment prepared at the time of the first Regular Settlement Record of A. D. 1865 also lists Bhagwanji as the preceptor of Narainji, and the prime ancestor of the Pindori line.

15. Munshi Tulsiram, *Bhaktipradipan,* 363, gives the place of origin of Bhagwanji as Sonepat, but this appears to be wrong, because the strong local tradition both at Pindori and Kahnuwan places his birth—and native-place as Kahnuwan in the Gurdaspur District.

16. Local tradition at Kahnuwan ascribes the foundation of this Jogi *gaddi* to *Birphānātha* which may be taken to be *Birpa,* who might have belonged to an order of the Nathapanthis, like Kanipa, whose names end in 'pa'. The Settlement Record of 1865, relating to Pindori, mentions an Aughar Jogi as having blessed the father of Bhagwanji with the boon of a son in his late years. The Jogi establishment that now exists at Kahnuwan is mentioned in the *Gazetteer of the Gurdaspur District,* 1891-92, 22, as "a considerable Jogi mandir".

17. See our *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar,* 40, nn. 5, 6, 7 for a brief discussion of these essentials of a Jogi monastic establishment.

18. The Dhamrai establishment of the Nathapanthi Jogis, a short distance from Dinanagar, is now only a small establishment, though said by tradition to be very old. The *Gazetteer of the Gurdaspur District,* 1891-92, 61, gives the name of the Shaiva temple there as Dharmeshwar.

19. See, *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar,* 15.

20. In a recent civil lawsuit about the succession to the Damtal *gaddi,* the present *mahant* of that place, Shri Lal Das, claimed that the Jakhbar *gaddi* had sent, as was customary, a representative to complete the installation ceremony by bestowing upon him the *seli* and the *topi.*

21. Shri Krishnadas Payahari, "subsisting only on milk or water", was one of the most important of Vaishnava teachers, himself a disciple of Shri Anantanand. There are fairly detailed accounts of him in Bhagwanprasad Rupkala's commentary on the *Bhaktamal,* Lucknow 1951, 302-305, and in Munshi Tulsiram, *Bhaktipradipan,* 49. It is interesting that he is also said to have entered into a contest with Nathapanthi Jogis before establishing himself at the important *gaddi* of Galta in Jaipur.

22. See, J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel, *History of the Punjab Hill States,* Lahore, 1933, I, 458-462, for an account of Jagat Singh's conversion to Vaishnavism. The reference to Krishnadas Payahari there is very indirect and obscure, but local tradition, and the *Bhaktamal,* clearly refer to the presence of Shri Krishnadas Payahari in Kulu. The Urdu history of the hills by Hardayal Singh, *Majmua-i Tawarikh-i riyasathai Kohistan-i Panjab,* Delhi, 1885-86, 32-35, also establishes a clear connection between Payahariji and Jagat Singh of Kulu.

23. See, *Pindori Dhām ka Itihas,* 51-52. The Rajas of Nurpur, in later years, paid more direct homage to the Damtal *gaddi* which was situated in their territory.

24. The rulers of Guler have been Vaishnava for many generations and much of the spread of this faith in their state was due to the Bathu *gaddi* which was established in the former Guler state in the middle of the eighteenth century. Raja Raghunath Singh of Guler recorded a detailed statement about the relation of his house with the Pindori establishment while giving evidence in the succession case about Pindori in the early years of this century.

25. The Rajas of Chamba still stand in a close relationship with Pindori. The present *mahant,* Shri Ram Das, was invited by the present Raja of Chamba to preside over his *Yagyopavīta* ceremony.

26. The devotion of the Rajas of Jaswan is apparent from the gift which Raja Ram Singh Jaswal made to his *"murshid",* preceptor, Mahant Hari Ram, in the late seventeenth century. See document VIII.

27. The Rajas of the hill state of Mankot, later called Ramkot, possibly under the Vaishnava influence, regarded themselves as *sewaks* of the Pindori *gaddi.* The evidence of Raja Raghunath Singh of Mankot in the Pindori succession case records the long association of the house as *sewaks* with the Pindori *gaddi.*

28. The Rajas of Bandralta, later called Ramnagar, also possibly under Vaishnava influence, were *sewaks* of the Pindori *gaddi,* too. According to Dr. Charan Das Shastri, the Pindori establishment held, till the partition, some land gifted by the Bandralta Rajas to the Pindori *mahants.* Some portraits of Raja Inder Dev of Bandralta show him worshipping Vaishnava idols. See, e.g., Karl Khandalavala, *Pahari Miniature Painting,* Bombay, 1958, Study Supp. No. 76.

29. See, *Pindori Dhām ka Itihas,* 63. The villages of Hamirpur and Gohra in the Jammu state still stand in the name of the Pindori establishment according to papers in the possession of the *mahants.* Raja Ranbir Singh of Jammu and Kashmir in the 19th century was an ardent Vaishnava and built the famous Raghunath temple in Jammu town.

30. The *Pindori Dhām ka Itihas,* 8, gives the date of Bhagwanji's birth as S. 1550 (A.D. 1493) which, if he is to be a disciple of Shri Krishnadas Payahari in the early years of the seventeenth century, seems to be rather early, although the tradition at Pindori is strong and insistent upon this date. Dr. G. S. Ghurye, *Indian Sadhus,* Bombay, 1953., 188-89, gives the date of the establishment of the Pindori shrine as A.D. 1572. A list prepared by the late Raja Baldev Singh of Guler at Bathu gives the date of Bhagwanji's death as A.D. 1622.

31. See, for example, the beautiful painting reproduced in Khandalavala, *Pahari Miniature Painting,* as fig. 8. The frontispiece of the *Pindori Dhām ka Itihas* has another representation of the same theme. Frescoes both at Pindori and Damtal treat of this subject in a like manner.

32. *Pindori Dhām ka Itihas,* 21-23. The *Bhaktamal,* however, mentions Narainji as being a direct disciple of Shri Krishnadas Payahari. See, Rupkala's commentary on the *Bhaktamal,* 308.

33. See, for example, Khandalavala's *Pahari Miniature Painting,* fig. 27. Other paintings in the Chandigarh Museum and the frescoes at Pindori accord exactly the same treatment to this theme.

34. Karuna Goswamy, "The Vaishnava Legend of Jahangir-Narayanji in History and Painting," *Roopalekha,* XXXVI, nos. 1 and 2. The study evaluates the evidence on the subject from various sources.

35. See, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* trans. by A. Rogers and ed. by H. Beveridge, London, 1909-14 II, 227. The name of the 'Sannyasi' in this translation of the *Tuzuk* is given as "Moti" which, as demonstrated by Karuna Goswamy, *op. cit.,* appears to have been a misreading for *"mauni"* meaning "one under a vow of silence". The *Tuzuk* mentions a strong *arak* and not poison being administered to the "Sannyasi".

36. See, *Gazetteer of the Gurdaspur District,* 1891-92, 22 ; H. A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province,* Lahore, 1911-19, I, 393. The original *patta* conferring the grant is, unfortunately, not available now.

37. See, *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar,* 13.

38. Mahant Ram Das, Shri Jai Raghunandan Das Shastri, and

Dr. C. D. Shastri, interviewed. Also, see, *Pindori Dhām ka Itihas,* 47.

39. We are grateful to the present *mahant* of Bathu, Shri Purushottam Das, for having allowed us access to this valuable manuscript. The titles of the several texts in this manuscript read like *Sri Ekonkar Satgur Bija Prasad Granth, Sri Tattva Gita, Guhya Prakash,* etc.

40. The entry, probably in the hand of Shyama Gujrati, mentions several facts like the presence of the various persons at the time of the death of Narainji, the places where at that precise time the Jaswali Rani of Nurpur and Raja Rajrup of Nurpur (1646-1661) were. The death is recorded as having occurred on the Ekadashi day of the month of Kartik, S. 1716.

41. *Pindori Dhām ka Itihas.* The dates are not given at one place in a table but mentioned under the account of each separate *mahant.*

42. *Ibid.,* 53-57. The incident is mentioned here in some detail, although the role of Shyam Das does not appear here in as harsh a light as it does in Pujari Krishnadas's manuscript history.

43. *Ibid.,* 62. Such names among the Giri Sannyasis are not uncommon. There is at Jwalamukhi the *samādhi* of Ilaichigir, a well-known ascetic who used to live there once.

44. *Ibid.,* 65-66. For a detailed and documented account of this occurrence, see, Karuna Goswamy, "The Bathu Shrine and the Rajas of Guler : A Brief study of a Vaishnava Establishment," *Journal of Indian History,* XLIII, ii, August, 1965.

45. For a very brief account of Goverdhan Chand, see, Hutchison and Vogel, *History of the Punjab Hill States,* I, 209. For a discussion about the possibility of Bishan Singh of Guler having actually ruled at Guler before Goverdhan Chand, see, Karuna Goswamy, "The Bathu Shrine &c." *Journal of Indian History,* XLIII, ii, 578-579.

46. *Pindori Dhām ka Itihas,* 66.

47. *Ibid.*, 68.

48. *Ibid.*, 72-73. Also, see, documents XXXV, XXXVII. In these the *mahant* is addressed reverently as "Baba Sahib Narottam Das Jio" by the Maharaja.

49. The frescoes can, stylistically, be ascribed to a member of the gifted Seu-Nainsukh family of artists, who must have come especially to Pindori for the execution of this work.

50. There are frescoes, thus, at Dhianpur, Damtal, and Dharamsal, among other places. With the *mahant* of Damtal is an extensive set of miniatures of the *Durga Saptashati*, painted by the artist Nathu of Nurpur.

51. See, the entry relating to the village Talibpur-Pindori in the Settlement Record of the Gurdaspur District prepared in the year 1865.

52. The succession case went up to the Punjab High Court, then at Lahore, as Civil First Appeal No. 2794 of 1916. The contestant against Shri Ram Das was Shri Vaishno Das, with whom, however, the relations of the Pindori *gaddi* became later quite amicable.

53. Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla 1967, 17-18.

54. See, the Regional Map.

55. H. R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs,* I, 6 and n. 2. Cunningham states that, according to the local chronicles of Multan, Hayatullah Khan was holding that province in 1739-40 when he tendered his allegiance to Nadir Shah and received the title of Shah Nawaz Khan. *History of the Sikhs,* 86, n. 3.

56. Quoted Gupta, *ibid.,* I, 20.

57. Ganesh Das, for instance, mentions that Zakariya Khan's generosity was remembered by many long after his death. *Chār-Bāgh-i-Panjāb,* 69.

58. *History of the Sikhs,* I, 16.

59. Zakariya Khan left three sons : Yahiya Khan, Shah Nawaz Khan and Mir Baqi. They were all Qamruddin Khan's sister's sons, but Yahiya Khan was his son-in-law also. Therefore, Qamruddin Khan persistently exerted his influence with the Emperor in favour of Yahiya Khan. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs,* I, 17, n. 2.

60. *Ibid.,* I, 32-33, 40-43.

61. *Ibid.,* I, 38.

62. For this paragraph, see, *ibid.,* I, 43, 44, 58, 59, 64, 65, 66, 68, 69, 73-76.

63. *Ibid.,* I, 59-60.

64. *Cf. ibid.,* I, 100-05.

65. This reference is only to a *patta* of Zakariya Khan in the possession of Gosain Ramdas, but in the context of the Document there is no doubt that this was a *patta-i-istimrār.* It is quite probable that this *patta* was given for the first time in the time of Zakariya Khan himself.

66. There is a reference in this document to "Bhai Sahib" who can give a *patta of mu'āfi* and to *"qiblah"* Izz-ud-Daulah Bahadur. We may be almost sure that these references are to Yahiya Khan as the Governor of Lahore and to Zakariya Khan by his son, namely Shah Nawaz Khan, who in May, 1747 (the date of this document) was *de facto* Governor of Lahore.

67. *Cf. The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar,* 19-24.

68. This seal is more elegant than the old one (Document X) which was made actually in A.D. 1741-42. The new seal bears the date A.H. 1160 (A.D. 1747) and significantly omits the declaration "servant of Padshah Ghazi Muhammad Shah" of the old seal.

69. H. R. Gupta, *Later Mughal History of the Punjab,* 129.

70. *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar,* 19.

71. *Ibid.,* 24. In Document VIII of the present collection, we find that Raja Ram Singh Jaswal had purchased a village to be offered to the Pindori *mahant.* He is believed to have granted seventy *ghumāons* of land to Bedi Kala Dhari at Una and Umed Singh Jaswal gave the *ta'alluqa* of Una to Sahib Singh Bedi. *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Panjab.* I, 128-30. Ranjit Singh gave entire villages to Udasis as well as to Akalis. *Ibid.,* I, 171.

72. *History of the Sikhs,* II, 26. This remark applies strictly to the cis-Sutlej area and the author says nothing about this subject in his volumes dealing with the Sikh Chiefs of the central Punjab.

73. *Ranjit Singh,* 142. In this connection, it may be mentioned that on December 11, 1837, for instance, Ranjit Singh rode to the mausoleum of Data Ganj Bakhsh and made an *ardās* of one hundred and twentyfive rupees ; at the mausoleum of Shah Abu'l Ma'ali he offered fifty rupees and gave one hundred rupees to Mastan Shah and twentyfive rupees to Baba Kahan Singh. *Umdat-ut-Tawārīkh,* 393.

74. *History of the Sikhs,* 383-87. The detail given by Cunningham shows that 9 out of 20 lakhs went to the Sodhis and Bedis ; but 11 lakhs went to Brahmins and Fakirs as well as to the Akalis, and establishments at Amritsar etc. On this rough estimate the share of the non-Sikhs in the "miscellaneous" grants should be quite considerable.

75. *History of the Sikhs,* I, 46.

76. *Ibid.,* I, 78.

77. *Ibid.,* I, 94-96, 97.

78. *Ibid.,* I, 97-99, 134, 135.

79. *History of the Sikhs,* 87.

80. For a fuller argument, see, J. S. Grewal, "Eighteenth Century Sikh Polity", *The Medieval Indian State,* Panjab University, Chandigarh, 1967, 141-53; "Ahmad Shah of Batala on Sikh Polity" and "Ganesh Das on Sikh Polity" (both to be published in the *Proceedings of Punjab History Conference,* Patiala 1968).

81. *Cf.* H. R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs,* I, 135.

82. See, J. S. Grewal, "J. D. Cunningham and His British Predecessors on the Sikhs", *Bengal : Past and Present,* LXXXIII, 101-14.

83. *History of the Sikhs,* 152 and n. 1.

84. *Ranjit Singh,* 127. Dr. Sinha believes in the living principle of a commonwealth among the Sikhs of Ranjit Singh's days and much more among the early leaders of the Sikhs in the eighteenth century. *Ibid.,* 126.

85. Khushwant Singh, *Ranjit Singh,* 47, 48.

86. It is used also in Document XXIII which we are inclined to ascribe to Jai Singh Kanhaiya.

87. It may be noted in this connection that the terms referring to the orders are *parwāna-i-wālā, amr-i-dāwar, hukm-i-'ālī, hukm-i-aqdas, amr-i-jalīl-ul-qadr, hukm-i-wālā, amr* and *irshād-i-wālā.* The title *faiyāz* or *faiyāz-i-zamān* is used for Jai Singh and Sher Singh. Ranjit Singh is referred to as *huzūr-i-anwar, huzūr-i-faiz-ganjwar, Sarkār-i-'āli* and *Sri Maharaj,* and the title *Khudāwand-i-ni'mat* is also used for him ; the epithet, *huzūr* is used for Kharak Singh ; Jai Singh is called *sarkār-i-mu'allā ;* the princes Kharak Singh and Sher Singh are referred to as *Bādshāhzāda* and *Shāhzāda.* Dalip Singh is called *huzūr-i-anwar.*

88. A thorough study of Sikh administration is still a desideratum. In the absence of such a study it is difficult to place these documents in their proper context and even more so to suggest their significance from the standpoint of administrative history. Not many terms of administrative significance occur in these documents. They are : *diwān-i-māl, āmil, kārdār, ahlkār, guzarbān ; chaudhari. qānūngo, zamīndār, panch, pargana, zila'* and *ta'alluqa ;* and *jāgīr.* We have given notes on their signification at proper places. For some observations on Sikh administration, see, H. R. Gupta, *History of the*

Sikhs, I, 327 ; III, 141, 144 145, 146 ; N. K. Sinha, *Ranjit Singh,* 131-32, 133-34, 138-39, 140, 141 ; Khushwant Singh, *Ranjit Singh,* 48, 49 ; J. D. Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs,* 151 ; and *The Land of the Five Rivers,* Lahore, 1923, 65.

89. In a document of A.D. 1853 from the Pindori collection, which is not being published here, a *kārdār* is ordered to ask the *zamīndārs* to hand over the revenues due from them to the *sādhs* of Pindori who held a revenue-free grant. It is also added that from the beginning of the *rabī'* crop of A.D. 1853 a separate piece of land should be given to the grantees so that they may be able to get it cultivated on the basis of *kankūt.*

90. This does not rule out, however, the possibility of the document having been issued by an autonomous *sardar* Harbakhsh Singh who, like Gaura Singh of documents XX and XXI, is practically unknown.

91. One of the meanings of *tazkara* is "anything that aids the memory". Therefore, the *tazkara* was probably meant not only to state the past facts of a case for decision in the present but also to serve as a legitimate form of evidence for the future.

92. The term *jama'-i-istimrār* is not used in the present document but there is no doubt that it did refer to the annual revenue fixed on a more or less permanent basis. Such revenues were generally paid in cash. The state was thus sure to receive the stipulated amount irrespective of cultivation and harvests. The holder of a *patta-i-istimrār* gained through the leniency of assessment which was meant to encourage cultivation. Perhaps the ordinary cultivator or a petty proprietor was never in a position to have land on this kind of lease. The *mahants* of Pindori, however, had no difficulty in paying the revenues in cash.

93. For Bhikhari Khan, see, note 2 to Document XVII.

94. During the Regency (1845-49) summary revenue settlements were made and the introduction of a more formal procedure regarding the revenue-free grants was perhaps due to the British influence. *Cf. The Land of the Five Rivers,* 65-66.

95. It may be pointed out in this connection that nearly all the Sikh *parwānas* contain the formula of *tākīd-i-mazid* or *tākid-i-balīgh* to indicate the urgency of the order given.

96. The contemporary Persian writers were not far removed from the official position in using royal titles for the rulers. Ahmad Yar, for instance, uses the epithet of *Sultān* and even *Shahnshāh* for Ranjit Singh (*Shahnama-i-Ranjit Singh,* ed. Ganda Singh, Amritsar, 1951, 19, 30, 62). Ganesh Das explicitly states that Ranjit Singh was usually referred to as *sarkār-i-ʿāli.* Sohan Lal refers to Ranjit Singh's court as the *Darbār-i-Muʿallā* (*Umdat-ut-Tawārīkh,* 398).

97. It may be mentioned that the use of Persian in the government and administration of Ranjit Singh is well-known. But it is generally not realized that this was a legacy left to him by his Sikh predecessors who had supplanted the Mughals in the Punjab. However, Ranjit Singh's attitude towards Persian is extremely interesting and significant: the poet Ahmad Yar wanted to write his *Shahnama* of Ranjit Singh in the Punjabi language but the Maharaja ordered that it should be written in Persian for that language was prized by the learned (*Shahnama-i-Ranjit Singh,* 34). It may be mentioned also that the office of the *qāzi* was kept up by many a *sardār* in his dominions. The *Bhandari Collection* in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala, reveals the existence of the *qāzi* of Batala during the Skih times. For the existence of the *qāzis* in Sikh administration, see, N. K. Sinha, *Ranjit Singh,* 139.

THE TEXT

Transcription, Translation and *Notes*

I

۱

(seal)

قاضی سید حسن محمد الواثق بالله
وافوض امری الی الله
خادم شرع رسول الله

باقرار مقر مسطور مهر نموده شد بیض (above)

منکه شیخ محبوب عالم ولد شیخ بدر مرحوم ساکن قصبه بٹاله ام
چون اراضی موازی هشت گھماؤن زمین ایمه چاهی واقع موضع پیغمبرپور دلیرهمت (تپه) حویلی
عمله پرگنه مذکور که بموجب سند و گواهی مقبوضه و متروکه قدیم مقر راست دریولا من ابتدای
فصل ربیع پارس ئیل سنه ۱۱۰۷ لغایت آخر فصل ربیع قوی ئیل سنه واجب پنج و نیم سال تمام و کمال بمقابله
مبلغ هشتاد و هشت که لصف آن چهل و چهار روپیه می شود بطریق کفالت (؟) مقرر و مشخص نموده در اجاره
رام رتن چیله مائی بهاگان دادم تا تردد و کشت کار کنانیده محصولات آن را فصل بفصل و سال بسال قابض و متصرف گردد
و مبلغ مذکور بطریق پیشگی گرفته در قبض و تصرف خود آورده درم (و دام) ... نماند
و نه ... است و خرج صدارت پناه و ... بنا بران (این چند کلمه)
بطریق پٹه نوشته دادم که ثانی الحال موجب سند معتبر (باشد) ...

سال اول		سال دوم		(سال سوم)	
ربیع	خریف	ربیع	خریف	ربیع	خریف
پارس ئیل	پارس ئیل	توشقان ئیل	توشقان ئیل	لوی ئیل	لوی ئیل

سال چهارم		سال پنجم		(سال ششم)
(ربیع)	خریف	ربیع	خریف	ربیع قوی ئیل
ایلان ئیل	ایلان ئیل	یونت ئیل	یونت ئیل	

(in the margin)

العبد
محبوب عالم آنچه در (متن) نوشته قبول دارم

(attestations)

۱- گواه شد
(seal) "عرفان ... محمد"
۲- شهد بما فیه بنفض
(seal) "فضل علی ۱۱۰۷"
۳- گواه شد
علی ساجد

I

A(llahu Akbar)[1]
(God is Great)

(Seal)[2]
Qazi Sayyid Hasan Muhammad
Al-Wasiq-billah,
ministering to the Law of
the Prophet.
"And I commit my case unto God,
making Him arbiter thereof."

(above) The seal has been affixed
on the affirmation of the
deponent. *Baiz.*[3]

I (the deponent), Shaikh Mahbub Alam, son of the late Shaikh Badr, am the resident of the *qaṣba* of Batala.[4] Whereas, eighteen *ghumāons of ā'imma*[5] land, irrigated by well, in the village Paighambarpur[6]......(in the *tappa*) *haveli*[7] in the administrative jurisdiction of the above-mentioned *pargana*[8] (Batala,) have been in my hereditary possession since long in accordance with the title-deeds. Now, I have leased out this entire land on *ijāra*[9] to Ram Ratan, the disciple of Mai Bhagan, with effect from the beginning of the *rabī'* crop of *pārs-īl,*[10] A. H. 1107 (A.D. 1695-96), till the end of the *rabī'* crop of *Qūi-īl* of the relevant *hijra* year amounting to a period of five and a half years, for the amount of eightyeight rupees (Rs. 88), the half of which is fortyfour rupees (Rs. 44), so that, keeping it under cultivation, he may gather and enjoy its produce harvest after harvest and year after year. I have appropriated to my use the abovementioned amount, having received it in advance... On that account, (these few words) have been committed to writing in the form of a *patta* so that they should serve as an authentic *sanad*[11] in the future.

The First Year	The Second Year	The Third Year
Rabī‘ of *Pārs-īl*	*Rabī‘* of *Tawishqān-īl*	(*Rabī‘* of *Lūi-īl*)
Kharīf of *Pārs-īl*	*Kharīf* of *Tawishqān-īl*	(*Kharīf* of *Lūi-īl*)

The Fourth Year	The Fifth Year	The Sixth Year
Rabī‘ of *Ilān-īl*	*Rabī‘* of *Yūnt-īl*	
Kharīf of *Ilān-īl*	*Kharīf* of *Yūnt-īl*	(*Rabī‘ of Qūi-īl*)

Attestations (in the margin):

1. "The slave[12] (that is, the mark of the signatures of): Mahbub Alam": "I accept all that is written herein."

2. Witnessed by:
(below) *seal*: "Irfan... Muhammad".

3. "Personally witnessed". *Baiz.*
(below) *seal*: "1107. Fazl Ali".

4. Witnessed by Ali Sajid.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. In some of the Mughal *farmāns* and *parwānas, Allahu Akbar* is used as the *sarnāma* or superscription. See, for example, *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar,* Documents II-VI.

The letter *alif* at the top of the present document stands in all probability for *Allahu Akbar.* There are nine other documents in the present collection (III, IV, VII, XI-XIV, XVI, XVII), which bear the letter *alif* as superscription. Other superscriptions to be found on the Mughal documents of this collection are *Hūal-Qādir* (II) and *Hū* (II, V, VIII, IX, XV).

There is no superscription on Document VI, but this is probably because it has been missed by the copyist.

2. This is the seal probably of the *qāzi* of Batala. The *āyat* of this seal is used on a few other seals also (II, VII, VIII). Its translation is taken from E. W. Lane's *Arabic English Lexicon.*

3. The use of *baiz* at the end of an official document was quite common by the seventeenth century. Several documents in the present collection have in them the use of this mark of "the end". See, *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar,* Document VI, note 6.

H. H. Wilson, in his *Glossary,* extends its connotation to "a sort of cypher or monogram formerly affixed to a written paper in place of a signature by Mohammedan functionaries and persons of rank". According to Wilson (*Glossary*) the word *baizāna,* from *baiz,* was used for "fee to a magistrate or public officer for affixing his cypher to a deed or document". In the eighteenth century, the mark was not necessarily confined to an official document. We have noticed it, for instance, in a dated inscription on a Mughal monument in Batala.

In the present document, as in some others in the collection, the mark occurs not at the end of the document itself but at the end of the statement confirming the authority and veracity of the contents of the documents.

4. Batala, in the present Gurdaspur district, was a *pargana* headquarters throughout the Mughal period. It was in fact the most important town in the Upper Bari Doab by the close of

the seventeenth century. The importance of medieval Batala was recognized by the British when they made it the District Headquarter after the annexation of the Punjab in A.D. 1849. Only later on, this status was given to Gurdaspur which was at that time a town of no great importance.

5. Wilson, in his *Glossary,* defines *ā'imma* as land granted by the Mughal Government "either rent-free or subject to a small quit-rent, to learned and religious persons of the Mohammedan faith, or for religious and charitable uses in relation to Mohammedanism". The connotation of *ā'imma* or *madad-i-ma'āsh* was by no means limited to the grants given to the Muslims, though in the present case the *ā'immadār* is a Muslim. See, *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar,* 21-22.

6. This village is difficult to identify unless it is the same as Rasulpur, 6 miles east of Batala in the Batala *tahsīl* of district Gurdaspur. This is not unlikely since the writer or the scribe might have decided to play with the words : "Rasul" and "Paighambar", both meaning "Prophet". At another place we have the document mentioning "Talibpur in its Persianised form as "Talibabad '. There is no village by the name of Paighambarpur in the Gurdaspur District at present.

7. For *tappa* as an administrative unit, particularly for fiscal purposes, see, *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar,* 87-88, n. 5.

The word *haveli* in connection with the *tappa* denotes the *tappa* around the *pargana* town itself. That would make the *tappa haveli* of the present document the *tappa* of Batala. The use of the word *haveli* was not confined to official documents. Ganesh Das, for instance, uses this term, in the sense suggested by us, quite frequently in the *Chār-Bāgh-i-Panjāb* (ed. Kirpal Singh, Amritsar 1965).

8. The *pargana,* as an administrative unit, had existed even before Akbar's reign and its limits were generally determined by the existence of a clan or tribe over a contiguous tract which made the *pargana* almost "a tract of land in the possession of one undivided clan". The varying size of the unit from *pargana* to *pargana* would be a corollary of this situation. At the same time the fiscal aspect of the unit is worth noting, for it equates the *pargana* with the territorial *mahal.* See, also, *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakbar,* 64-66, n. 4. *Cf.* Sri Ram Sharma, *Mughal Government and Administration,* 25.

9. The word *ijāra* in the context of the present document would mean simply the lease for five and a half years. It is nonetheless interesting to note that towards the close of Aurangzeb's reign *ā'imma* was treated as a hereditary property that could be leased out. If the lease-holder too was exempt from any revenue demands, the total amount of eightyeight rupees for eight *ghumāons* of land irrigated by a well appears to be rather small. It may be taken as a reflection upon either the low prices of agricultural produce or the personal circumstance of the *ā'immadār,* Shaikh Mahbub Alam.

For *ijāra* as "revenue-farming", see, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India,* 159, 233-36, 309; also 277-78 and n. 20, 284, 285 and n. 70.

10. *Pārs-īl,* or the leopard year is the third year of the Turkish duodenary cycle. The administrative convenience of a solar calendar appears largely to have dictated the use of this duodenary cycle, alongwith the *hijra* and regnal years. At any rate, its use was quite common in Mughal documents relating to land and in this collection seven other years of the cycle have been used. See also, *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar,* 88, n. 8, and Appendix A of the present volume.

The Turkish cycle has been discussed at some length by G. H. Khare in his *Select Articles,* Poona 1966, 174-202.

11. An officially authenticated document.

12. The word *al-'abd,* literally "the slave", was frequently prefixed, according to Wilson (*Glossary*) "as a mark of humility to the official signatures by Indian Officers, whether Hindu or Muslim". Evidently this was a legacy coming down at least from the Mughal times.

II

هوالقادر

(Principal Seals, left to right)

۱ - قاضی محمد ولی الله
افوض امری الی الله
خادم شرع رسول الله

(on the right) هو باقرار مقرین باسمع (؟)، مذکورین المتن و قبض بطوعهم و رضایهم مهر نموده شد بیض بیض

۲ - محمد منیر تابع شرع منیر ۱۱۲۳

(above) باقرار مقرین مذکورین مهر کرده شد بیض

۳ - اصغر خادم ۴۶ الشرع محمد

۱۱۱۴
۴ - خطیب عبدالعزیز بن عبداللطیف
خادم شرع شریف
۱۱۱۱

اقرار معتبر شرعی نمودند مخبرین باسمایهم وانسابهم طائعاً بلا اجبار و اکراه من احد ٹهلا ولد شنبهو بن باسو و مسمی بهانا ولد شیرد
بن کاهن و مسمی پرتهیا ولد دیالا بن بدهیا معروفین راجپوت تتراج مالکان و مقدمان موضع یادگارپور عمله پرگنه
عرف نوشهرا عمله پرگنه کانوواهن فی حال اقرارهم شرعیاً که برنوجه آنها فروختند اصالةً بربیع بات
ثبات بدست موهن لعل ولد ٹوڈرمل قوم پوری قانونگوی پرگنه بٹاله ازانچه که نمودند بالغین مذکورین
که حق و ملک ایشان بوده در تحت تصرف مالکانه شرعی خود ها داشتند تا زمان این مبالغه شرعیه حالها
عن حق الغیر همگی و تمامی در و بست رقبه موضع یادگارپور عمله پرگنه کانوواهن ضمایم و شور و اشجار مثمره
و غیر مثمره معه یک چاه پخته موجود بآب شیرین الکل و قلیل و کثیر هو فیها و رجیها سوائے مساجد و مکابر (sic)
الوراع و احیاض و کل مشات شرعیه محدود و بدین حدود اربعه کامله شرقی المتصل بزمین موضع لمین
و غربی المتصل بزمین موضع بیےهالی عمله پرگنه بٹاله جنوبی المتصل بزمین موضع چهاوڑیان
شمالی المتصل بزمین موضع چک بانا مواصل بحدود و علامات ظاهرات الجمع آنچه دارند و شمرند
بمقابله مبلغ هفت صد روپیه به وزن پوره ۳۵۰ نقره پاک وزن درست سره چیده رائج الوقت
که النصف منه تاکیداً الاضل مبلغ سی صد و پنجاه روپیه موصوفه بوصف نوع مذکور می شود
و خرید مشتری مذکور مقدار در و بست رقبه موضع مذکور از بالغین مذکورین بیعاً و شراً صحیحاً شرعیه جایزاً
باخبراً صفقتةً مستملاً علی الیه ... والقول ... شرائط صحت البیع ... البیع جواز البیع
و نقاده و اقرار المعاقدین المسطورین بوقوع التقابض الشرعی بینهما فی الهذاین المسطورین ...
بالغین مذکورین از غبن فاحش ابراد شرزد (؟)، کردند بالغین مذکورین همین اشخاص اند وقت البیع
والتسلیم اختیار کردند هر یک مسمی فقیر و ولد درشو بن منوهر داس عرف زنار دار ساکن موضع ...
عمله پرگنه پٹهان و مسمی سردار ولد گوبند بن گودهر عرف راجپوت هریچند ساکن قصبه کانوواهن
نیز مخبرین ضامن و کفیل شدند اگر کسے درین مبیعه مذکور استحقاق شرعی آرد یا وارثے پیدا شود از عهده
جواب آن برآیند کاءن ذالک

تحریر فی التاریخ ۵ شهر ربیع الاول سنه ۱۲۲۳ قلمی شد بیض

(descriptions)

۱- حلیه
بالغ ٹهلا مذکور گندم رنگ فراخ پیشانی پیوسته ابرو
میش چشم بلند بینی برنرمه هردو گوش سوراخ
ریش بروت خال تمام قد تخمیناً ۵۵ ساله

۲- حلیه
بالغ پرتهیا مذکور گندم رنگ فراخ پیشانی قدرے پیوسته ابرو
میش چشم بلند بینی چند داغ چیچک روئے دارد
ریش بروت سیاه تمام قد تخمیناً ۳۵ ساله

۳- حلیه
بالغ بهانا مذکور گندم رنگ فراخ پیشانی قدرے پیوسته ابرو
میش چشم بلند بینی برنرمه هردو گوش سوراخ
ریش بروت سیاه تمام قد تخمیناً ۶۲ ساله

۴- حلیه
مخبر فقیرو مذکور گندم رنگ فراخ پیشانی قدرے پیوسته ابرو
میش چشم بلند بینی برنرمه هردو گوش سوراخ
چیچک روئے تمام قد تخمیناً ۵۰ ساله

۵- حلیه
مخبر سردار مذکور گندم رنگ فراخ پیشانی
کشاده ابرو میش چشم بلند بینی برنرمه هردو گوش
سوراخ پرداخته هردو گوش چند موئے دارد
ریش بروت خال تمام قد تخمیناً ۵۵ ساله

(attestations)

۱- " مراد علی ۱۲۲۲"
(above) بیان واقعه است

۲- گواه شد
بهوانی داس قانونگوی پرگنه کهوکهردال بیض
(seal) " فدوی بهوانی داس"

۳- گواه شد
(seal " میر سعدالله بنده الله"

۴- گواه شد
محمد غوث

۵- گواهی بهگولی داس
(in Takri) اگاهی بهگت دی

۶ - ... دهرم لکهت صحیح
(in Takri)

۷- گواه شد
بودها رندهاوه

۸- گواه شد
ملک یار محمد

II

Hūal-Qādir
(He is All Powerful)

(Principal *Seals,* from left to right)

1. Qazi Muhammad Waliullah,
ministering to the Law of the Prophet.

"I commit my case unto God, making
Him arbiter thereof".

(On the margin of the *seal*): "Hū. On the affirmation of the deponents concerning this sale-transaction and the ownership, this seal has been affixed with their free consent. *Baiz. Baiz.*"

2. 1123
Muhammad Munir
ministering to the Resplendent Law.

(above) "This seal has been affixed on the affirmation of the deponents. *Baiz.*"

3. 46
Asghar,
ministering to the
Law of Muhammad.

4. 1114

Khatib Abdul Aziz[1],
son of Abdul Latif,
ministering to the
Holy Law.

This solemn and legal affirmation, willingly and without duress, (is) made by the deponents, their names and extraction severally being : Tehla, son of Shambhu, son of Basu; and Bhana, son of Sheru, son of Kahan; and Prithia, son of Dayala, son of Bidhia, of the Rajput Tatraich[2] caste; the proprietors and *muqaddams*[3] of the village Yadgarpur *alias* Naushehra[4] in the administrative jurisdiction of *pargana* Kahnuwan[5].

Now, this legal affirmation is to the effect that they, (the deponents), sold, through a legal and binding transaction, executed by them with Mohan Lal, son of Todar Mal, of the Puri caste, the *qānūngo*[6] of *pargana* Batala, the right of ownership and possession (of the said village) which they had held in legally valid proprietary and exclusive ownership until the time of the drawing up of the present deed. (The transaction pertained to) the entire areas of the village Yadgarpur, in the administrative jurisdiction of *pargana* Kahnuwan, with all its rights and including, in full, fruit-bearing and non-fruit-bearing trees and one pucca well of sweet water, and all else that is therein, with the exception of the places of worship, the common graveyards, and all the lanes. (This village) has as its boundaries: in the east the land of the village Lamin;[7] in the west, the land of the village Babehali,[8] in the administrative jurisdiction of *pargana* Batala; in the south, the land of the village Chhawarian;[9] and in the north, the land of the village Chak Bana;[10] all these boundaries (are) indicated by known marks. (This property was sold) for the amount of seven hundred rupees (Rs. 700) of pure current coins of full weight, the half of which, in confirmation of the full amount, is three hundred and fifty rupees (Rs. 350). This legally valid and legitimate transaction involving the purchase of the land of the abovementioned village by the aforesaid vendee, from the aforesaid vendors, was willingly and knowingly entered into by the two parties, the sale being valid, proper, and admissible in all respects; and the property was actually transferred from one party to the other on their affirmation and undertaking not to deviate from or commit a gross fraud by going back upon their undertaking. The abovementioned are those very persons who had agreed to and accepted the terms of this sale. Now, severally, Faqiru, son of Darshu, son of Manohar Das, of the Brahmin caste and resident of the village..., in the administrative jurisdiction of *pargana* Pathan;[11] and Sardar, son of Gobind, son of Godar, of the Rajput Harichand caste, a resident of the *qaṣba* Kahnuwan; as well as the deponents have solemnly guaranteed and undertaken that, if any one puts forth a counter-claim to the abovementioned object of sale, or bases his claims to it on hereditary rights, they will be answerable. Verily, this is all that had to be said.[12]

Written on the 5th of Rabi-ul-Awwal of the year A.H. 1123 (April 12, 1711).

Descriptions : [13]

1. The abovementioned vendor Ṭehla, with wheatish complexion, broad forehead, close-set eyebrows, grey eyes, high nose, with a hole pierced in the lobe of each of the

two ears, and black whiskers. Fully grown, aged approximately fiftyfive years.

2. The abovementioned vendor Prithia, with wheatish complexion, broad forehead, somewhat close-set eyebrows, grey eyes, high nose, with a few pockmarks on the face, and dark whiskers. Fully grown, aged approximately thirtyfive years.

3. The abovementioned vendor Bhana, with wheatish complexion, broad forehead, somewhat close-set eyebrows, grey eyes, high nose, with a hole pierced in the lobe of each of the two ears, grey whiskers. Fully grown, aged approximately sixtytwo years.

4. The deponent Faqiru, with wheatish complexion, broad forehead, close-set eyebrows, grey eyes, high nose, with a hole pierced in the lobe of each of the two ears, and pock-marked face. Fully grown, aged approximately fifty years.

5. The deponent Sardar, with wheatish complexion, broad forehead, wide-set eyebrows, grey eyes, high nose, with a hole pierced in the lobe of each of the two ears, and with a few hair on both of them, and black whiskers. Fully grown, aged approximately fiftyfive years.

Attestations :

1. (Witnessed by Murad Ali) "The statement is verily true".
   (below) *seal* : "1122. Murad Ali".

2. Witnessed by Bhawani Das, the *qānūngo* of *pargana* Khokharwal[14]. *Baiz.*
   (below) *seal* : "The servant, Bhawani Dass".

3. Witnessed (Mir Sadullah).
   (below) *seal* : "The slave of God, Mir Sadullah".

4. Witnessed by Muhammad Ghaus

5. Witness, Bhagwati Das.
   (below—in Tākri[15]) "Witnessed by Bhagat".

6. (in Tākri) "Verily true".

7. Witnessed by Bodha Randhawa.

8. Witnessed by Malik Yar Muhammad.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. There are four principal seals on this document, all belonging to the officials connected with the administration of justice. Two of these seals, Nos. 3 and 4, contain dates which show that they had been prepared in the reign of Aurangzeb. The seal of Qazi Muhammad Waliullah may also be from the previous reign. It is very likely that Waliullah and Muhammad Munir were *qāzis* in Kahnuwan and Batala. Abdul Aziz uses the term *khatīb* (a preacher) for himself, which would suggest his close association with the mosque.

2. Among the numerous Muslim Rajput tribes listed by Sir Danzil Ibbetson (*Panjab Castes,* 1916, 131-163) the Tatraich finds no mention. Nor is it listed in the *Gazetteer of the Gurdaspur District,* 1883-84, 36, where the castes and tribes living in the district are enumerated. This is likely to have been a minor sub-caste of the Muslim Rajputs whose numbers in this district were very large.

3. The term *muqaddam* was generally applied to the village headman, the sole village official besides the *patwāri.* His office was virtually, but not necessarily, hereditary. His position in the village was made eminent by the various functions he performed. See, *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar,* 142, n.1; 142-43, n. 4. See also, 90, n. 14, for *muqaddami.* In the present case, the *muqaddams* of the village are also its *māliks* or proprietors; and, since the entire village belonged to them, their position as *muqaddams* becomes quite different from that of a common *muqaddam.*

4. A small village at a distance of a little over four miles in the south-west of Pindori. The two names by which the village was known are of interest; names changed in this manner following some important event like the purchase of the entire village by a new owner or a change in the ruling power. This was not, however, a very common occurrence.

5. A large and prosperous village, nine miles south of Pindori. It appears once to have been a place of considerable importance, having been the headquarters of a *pargana* of the same name. Even at present it is one of the more prominent places in the district.

The association of this place with the Pindori *gaddi* is very old; the founder Bhagwanji is said to have been born here.

Kahnuwan is a large *chhamb* or swamp which served once as a hunting place for Maharaja Sher Singh. The swamp "evidently marks an ancient course" of the river Beas. In the swamp *jhil*, "on an island stood a pavilion, from the roof of which till quite recently, wild fowls circling round the flocks could generally be shot." In the period of the Sikh rulers, a straight road ran from Kahnuwan to Lahore through Batala. See, the *Gazetteer of the Gurdaspur District*, 1883-84, 6-7.

6. The primary functions of the *qānūngo* were related to land and its revenue. The office was almost invariably held for life and generally ran in the family. The *qānūngo* was expected to provide all information on revenue receipts, area statistics, local revenue rates, and practices and customs of the *pargana*. Originally there used to be one *qānūngo* as a rule for a *pargana* but by the reign of Aurangzeb the number of *qānūngos* had considerably increased and there could be more than one *qānūngo* in a *pargana*. See, *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar*, 170, n. 16; also 90, n. 5, for *qānūngoi*. *Cf*. P. Saran, *Provincial Government*, 294-95.

7. A small village lying at a distance of a little over four miles to the south of Pindori and about five miles to the north of Kahnuwan.

8. A large-sized village to the west of Lamin. Its population is given as 1,675 persons by the *Gurdaspur Village Directory*, 1958.

9. There are two villages of this name in the Gurdaspur *tahsīl* and both of these are to the south of Naushehra with reference to which these villages are mentioned in the document. The Chhawarian that is likely to have been meant, however, is the village which carries the *hadbast* number 610 in the *Gurdaspur Village Directory*, 1958.

10. There is no village of this name in these parts at present, but the village now called Chak Bhulla, to the north-west of Naushehra and south-west of Pindori, is likely to have been meant here.

11. Now known as Pathankot, an important town which is situated at the base of the two important routes from the Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir on the one hand and the Kangra hills on the other. The town is the headquarters of the *tahsīl* of the same name in the Gurdaspur district. It occupies an ancient site which appears to have borne the name earlier of "Pratishthana" from which Pathan is only a corruption; the "kot" appears to have been added later. The place seems to have been consistently important in the 'Hindu' period : it was linked with the Pathania dynasty of Nurpur and under the Mughals it served as the headquarters of an important *pargana*. (See, A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Report*, 1872-73, V, 145 ; J. Hutchison, and J. Ph. Vogel, *History of the Panjab Hill States*, Lahore 1933, I, 213).

12. The original expression is *kā'n zālik* and appears to imply that the essentials of the case have been covered.

13. The noting down of the deponent's appearance and its distinctive marks on a legal document was a common practice, as these descriptions appear on most of them (e.g. IV, V, VII). The detail of these descriptions is more precise for the face than for height and age. In a considerable proportion of the descriptions given in these documents, there is reference to "pockmarks", which indicates the general prevalence of smallpox in this region. In fact it might have been a general phenomenon in the Punjab during medieval times.

14. This, in, all likelihood, is the village of the same name in the Batala *tahsīl*, about 16 miles from Batala in the eastern direction.

15. Tākri, or Tānkri as it is sometimes called, was for several centuries the general script of the hills, with its local variations being popular in different areas. It is descended from the Sharada but took on, later, an almost illegible aspect so that Tākri inscriptions are notoriously difficult to read. The use of Tākri in the present series of documents is interesting and arises possibly from the submontane character of much of the Gurdaspur district which has distinct affiliations with the lower hills of Kangra and Jammu. For several variations of Tākri and a discussion of the script, see G.A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Calcutta, 1898-1927, IX i-iv.

III

(seal)

۸
اعزالدوله زکریا خاں
هزبر جنگ
فدوی بادشاه غازی محمد شاه
۱۱۳۸

(below) ص

داروغه هائے حال واستقبال شاه نهر بدانند وکیل رفعت وامانت پناه
رائے بهوانی داس عامل پرگنه تبڑ ہست پور ظاہر نمود که موکل
موضع طالب آباد عمله پرگنه بٹالا را از مالکان خرید نموده گوسائین
رامداس ساکن پنڈوری مکان گوسائین بهگوان نارائن بطریق نذر
داده وموضع مذبور ویران مطلق است الحال موکل مزارعان آنجا را
بدلاسا وامداد تخم وتقاوی آورده سرگرم تردد کشتکار گردانیده
گماشتهائے داروغه شاه نهر برائے اخذ وجه نهرانه مزاحمت می رسانند
وآب نهر بموضع مذکور می رسد لهذا قلمی میگردد که درینصورت
موضع مرقوم را نظر بر مکان فقرا از وجوه نهرانه وغیره ابواب ممنوعه معاف
دانسته زنهار مزاحم ومتعرض نشوند تاکید دانند بیست و دوم ماه رجب سنه ۱۵ قلمی شد بیض

(reverse)

۱- ملاحظه شد

۲ بموجب پٹه بتاریخ ۲۵ رجب سنه ۱۵ جلوس والا نقل سیاهه حضور نموده شد

III

A(llahu Akbar)
(God is Great)

(Seal)[1]

8
‘Izzuddaulah
Zakariya Khan Bahadur
Haziz-i-jang, Servant of
Padshah Ghazi
Muhammad Shah
1138

(below) *Sād.*[2]

Be it known to the present and the future *dāroghas*[3] of the Shahnahr[4] that :

It has been represented by the *vakīl*[5] of the asylum of loftiness and sincerity, Rai Bhawani Das, the *āmil* of *pargana* Tibber Hastpur,[7] that the *muvakkil* (Bhawani Das), having purchased from its proprietors the village Talibabad[8] in the administrative jurisdiction of *pargana* Batala, had given it by way of offering to Gosain Ramdas of the establishment of Gosain Bhagwan-Narain of Pindori. The aforesaid village is "wholly uncultivated".[9] At present, however, the *muvakkil* (Bhawani Das) has induced the *mazāri‘s*[10] of that place to till the land by holding out encouragement and helping them with seeds and *taqāvi*[11]. The *gumāshtas*[12] of the *dārogha* of the Shahnahr are pestering (the *mazāri‘s*) by insisting on the levy of *nahrāna*).[3]

The water of the canal has (always) been available for the aforesaid village. It is therefore being ordered that, regarding the aforesaid village as free from the levy of *nahrāna* and other forbidden *abwāb*[14] because of its being attached to a holy establishment, they (the *dāroghas*) should never offer any hindrance or obstruction of any kind. This is the injunction.

Written on the 22nd of Rajab of the (regnal) year 15 (Dec. 28, 1732). *Baiz.*

Reverse :

1. "Duly examined".

2. "On the 25th day of Rajab of the fifteenth year of the auspicious reign, copy of the *Siyāha-i huzūr*[15] has been made".

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Zakariya Khan had replaced his father, Abdul Samad Khan, as the Governor of Lahore in A.D. 1726 to administer the province for about twenty years. The seal on this document would, thus, belong to the beginning of his Governorship. It appears also on Document XV in *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar.*

A certain amount of religious fanaticism is sometimes attributed to Zakariya Khan in his treatment of the Sikhs whose political menace was increasing day by day during his Governorship. Zakariya Khan's attitude towards the Gosains of Pindori, as well as the Jogis of Jakhbar suggests that in his measures against the Sikhs he was guided primarily by political considerations.

2. The letter *sād,* which is of frequent occurrence in Mughal official documents, stands for *sādiq,* i.e. "true, genuine, authentic". It is generally taken to stand for *sahī* which also connotes, among other things, "true" and "authentic". As it is evident from the documents in this collection, the second connotation had become current already by the late eighteenth century.

The placing of the letter *sād* in this document, as in several others, suggests that it was put there at the time of affixing the seal. Therefore it may be ascribed to the highest authority.

3. Wilson, in his *Glossary,* defines *dārogha* as the chief officer in various departments of the native government and, according to him, the term was applied in later times especially to "the head of a police, custom, or excise station." The *dārogha* of the present document, as its contents imply, was responsible for the collection of *nahrāna* from the villages irrigated by canals.

4. In the reign of Shah Jahan a small system of canals was brought into existence in the Upper Bari Doab of the Punjab under the direction of Ali Mardan Khan. Of these canals the best known was the Shahnahr, which was successfully excavated in the sixteenth year of the reign. It took off from the Ravi at Shahpur, close to the hills. Another canal from the same point ran to Pathankot and yet another to Batala. The village Talibabad was obviously irrigated by the Batala branch of the Shahnahr.

5. Wilson, in his *Glossary,* defines the term *vakīl* as a person vested with authority to act for another ; also an ambassador, a representative, an agent, an attorney. The *vakīl* of the present document was perhaps a person employed by Rai Bhawani Das to represent him in connection with matters to which he could not always attend personally.

6. *The āmil* was the *pargana* official in charge of both the assessment and the collection of the revenues. For some more information on his position and his relation with the *Jāgīrdārs, muqaddams* and *patwāris,* see, *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar,* 63, n. 12.

7. The village is now known simply as "Tibbar", the second part of the name having been dropped. It is a very large-sized village, situated at a distance of about 7 miles to the south-west of Pindori.

8. This refers no doubt to the village Talibpur which is mentioned almost always in conjunction with Pindori as "Talibpur-Pindori". The village now has a high school run by the Pindori establishment and called the "Yogiraj Bhagwan-Narain High School". A motorable road now connects the place with Gurdaspur which is at a distance of eight miles in the west.

9. The original term in the document is *wīrān-i-mutlaq,* which would make it "completely desolate", ruined or depopulated. In the context of the present document, however, the implication of the village being wholly uncultivated appears to be quite important. In fact there is a possibility that the term is being used here almost in a technical sense.

10. The word *mazāri'* literally means a husbandman. In the present document it is clear that the tillers of the land in question are not its proprietors. The basis on which they undertook its cultivation is not given in the document, but it is quite clear that they were not mere labourers. *Cf.* note 11, below.

11. According to Elliot's *Supplemental Glossary* (I, 226), the term *taqāvi* was applied to "advances for cattle, and for sinking wells", whereas for the advance of seed and food the term used was *bīj-khād.* In this document the *taqāvi* is distinguished from the advance of seed which finds a separate mention. It is clear, however, that no well was to be sunk in the land in question. Therefore, it is quite likely that the *taqāvi* in this case was meant to enable the *mazāri'ṡ* to purchase bullocks, agricultural implements etc.

Wilson, in his *Glossary,* defines *taqāvi* as "advances of money made by the government to the cultivators at the time of sowing". Rai Bhawani Das, who gave *taqāvi* to the *mazāri's* of Talibabad, was the *āmil* of another *pargana.* It appears, therefore, that this *taqāvi* was obtained for the *mazāri's* from the *āmil* of Batala. If, however, this help was rendered by Rai Bhawani Das personally, the term *taqāvi* would lose its technical connotation.

The advancing of *taqāvi* loans to the peasant was an important method of encouraging cultivation. Todar Mal recommended *taqāvi* loan for the purchase of seeds and cattle (bullocks) which were as a rule advanced through *chaudharīs* and *muqaddams* who stood surety for their repayment. "It seems that loans given to the peasant by the headmen on their own account were also known as *taqāvi". The Agrarian System of Mughal India,* 253-55; also, 131-32, 241, 293.

12. Wilson, in his *Glossary,* defines *gumāshta* as "an agent, a steward, a confidential factor, a representative". The *gumāshtas* of the *dārogha* of Shahnahr do not appear to be simple agents or representatives. They were probably the subordinate functionaries of his department.

13. *Nahrāna* appears to be a cess levied on account of the supply of canal water for irrigation. In the present case, *nahrāna* is not to be levied only because the village in question belongs to a religious establishment. It may be inferred, therefore, that this cess was generally levied. It is not clear, however, if it was one of the authorized cesses. The use of the term *wajah-i-nahrāna* is quite suggestive.

14. Wilson, in his *Glossary,* defines *abwāb* as "the taxes" imposed in addition to the regular assessment on land. Sir Jadunath Sarkar equates the *abwāb* with "illegal cesses". From the use of the term *abwāb-i-mamnū'a* it appears that all the *abwāb* were not necessarily forbidden or "illegal". *Cf. The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar,* 149-50, n. 5.

15. The *siyāha-i-huzūr* refers probably to some particular category of records kept at Lahore, the provincial capital. See also *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar,* 138-39, n. 22. Sir Jadunath Sarkar equates the provincial *diwan-i-siyāha* with "ledgers of receipt" (*Mughal Administration,* 62). Some detail of the *diwani* secretariat is given by Dr. P. Saran in his *Provincial Government of the Mughal* (196-97); he also mentions the different kinds of records kept in a provincial capital, including the lists of large *ā'imma* lands; and he suggests that the executive side of the provincial administration was called *'huzūr',* as distinct from *'māl',* the revenue side (207-08).

IV

1

(seal)

۱۴
قاضی سید معین الدین
خادم شرع متین
۱۱۴۴

اقرار معتبر صحیح شرعی نمود مخبر باسم نسب خودها مسمی بخشا ولد صادق بن قیوم ماهی ولد شریف بن فتا هشناکی ولد ماچهی بن دلا قوم گوجر جنجی مالکان و مقدمان موضع گجو بساون گوجر تپه کتهلو عمله پرگنه کاتهوبه بر ینوجه که اراضی موازی یک هزار نه صد ۱۹۰۰ گهماؤن تمام رقبه موضع مذکور که در حق و ملکیت مایان است محدود فی الذیل بهمگی و تمامی و جملگی ما فیها و ما عنها و بالتعلق بها بمقابله مبلغ نه صد ۹۰۰ روپیه که نصف آن چهار صد پنجاه ۴۵۰ روپیه می شود بدست مرزا اسعد الله بیگ ولد شاه ولی بیگ عرف عرب بیع کرده ایم و فروختیم بیعاً و صحیحاً شرعیاً و مبلغ مذکور به تمام و کمال از تسلیم مشتری مذکور گرفته در قبض و تصرف خودها آوردیم و تسلیم نمودند بالغین مزبورین بر مشتری مذکور و ابرای صحیح شرعی کردند از دعوی غبن و غرور از انچه که مبطل و مفسد عقد و بیع مذکور است و چنان در کشا در شریعت غرا ثابت و مقرر است اگر واقع آید بر بالغین مزبورین است

شرقی	غربی	جنوبی	شمالی
المتصل زمین موضع لگهور	المتصل دریائے راوی	المتصل دین پور دهولا طرف بساون گوجر	المتصل زمین موضع گوجر

۱- چهره
باسم بخشا ولد صادق ابن قیوم قوم گوجر
گندم رنگ فراخ پیشانی کشاده ابرو
میش چشم بلند بینی ریش بروت سیاه
تمام قد تخمیناً ۴۹ ساله

۲- چهره
باسم ماهی ولد شریف بن فتا قوم گوجر
گندم رنگ فراخ پیشانی کشاده ابرو میش چشم
بلند بینی ریش بروت سیاه کهوسه دو خال سیاه
بر شاه رگ و خال سیاه زیر حلقوم پره بینی سوراخ
جانب راست مشته جور و همرنگ زیر عارض
و خال بالائے گوشه زنخدان جانب چپ چند داغ
چیچک متفرقه بر رو هر دو نرمه گوش سوراخ
تمام قد تخمیناً ۲۷ ساله

۳- چہـــرہ
باسم ہشناکی ولد ماچھی ابن دلا قوم گوجر
گندم رنگ فراخ پیشانی کشادہ ابرو میش چشم بلند بینی ریش بروت سیاہ
خال سیاہ زیر شقیقہ خال سیاہ دامن گوش خال سیاہ عقب زلف
خال سیاہ زیر نرمہ گوش دو خال بر رخسارہ پرہ بینی و صدف گوش سوراخ
جانب راست خال سیاہ بالائے عقب شاہ رگ زیر کلہ جانب چپ چند داغ
چیچک متفرقہ بر رو

تمام قد تخمیناً ۳۵ سالہ

تحریر بتاریخ پنجم شہر شوال سنہ ۲۰ جلوس والا محمد شاہ غازی

(in the margin)

۱- علامت دستخط ماہی (a mark)

۲- علامت دستخط بخشا (a mark)

۳- علامت دستخط ہشناکی (a mark)

۴- گواہ شد باقرار مقدمان

(seal—below) "۰ ۱۰۵ احسن بیگ ابن الف بیگ ۳۰"

۵- گواہ شد سدھمل گماشتہ قانونگویان باقرار مقدمان

(in Tākri) ۱۰ - ۶

IV

A(llahu-Akbar)

(God is Great)

(*Seal*)[1]

14
Sayyid Muinuddin Qazi,
ministering to
the Holy Law.
1144

This legal declaration, true and authentic, made on the strength of the statement of the following persons with their names and descent (duly recorded) : Bakhsha, son of Sadiq, son of Qayum; Mahi, son of Sharif, son of Fatta; Hushnaki, son of Machhi, son of Dulla; all of the caste Gujjar,[2] sept Janji, the *māliks*[3] and the *muqaddams* of the village Basaun Gujjar[4] *alias* Gajju (Basaun), in the *tappa* of Kathlaur[5] within the administrative jurisdiction of the *pargana* Kathua,[6] is to the effect that :—

We have sold and handed over one thousand and nine hundred *ghumāons*[7] of land, comprising the entire area of the aforesaid village, over which we exercise full rights of ownership and possession, and which is defined by the boundaries given below, to Mirza Sadullah Beg, son of Shah Wali Beg, the Arab, complete with each and every right, for the amount of nine hundred rupees, the half of which amounts to four hundred and fifty rupees, fully in accordance with the prescribed legal procedure. We have appropriated the whole of the abovementioned amount to our use with the consent of the vendee. This has been ascertained (by the officials) to be in accordance with the agreement between the aforesaid vendee and the abovementioned vendors; hence this legal deed has been drawn up to obviate the possibility of any cause or legal contention arising from this transaction. Since this is appropriately determined by the Holy Law, whosoever repudiates this (transaction) will be answerable to the Law.

Boundaries

Eastern : adjoining the land of the village Laghaur (?).
Western : adjoining the river Ravi.[8]
Southern : adjoining the village Dinpur Dhaula (?) on the side of Basaun Gujjar.
Northern : adjoining the land of the village Gujjar.

Descriptions :

1. The abovementioned Bakhsha, son of Sadiq, son of Qayum, of the Gujjar caste, with wheatish complexion, broad forehead, wide-set eyebrows, dark grey eyes, high nose, and dark whiskers. Fully grown, aged approximately fortynine years.

2. The abovenamed Mahi, son of Sharif, son of Fatta, of the Gujjar caste, with wheatish complexion, broad forehead, wide-set eyebrows, dark grey eyes, high nose, dark whiskers . . . two black moles on the neck and one black mole below the throat, a hole pierced in the right side of the nose, a wound even in colour and surface below the cheek, a mole on the upper portion of the left side of the cleft of the chain, a few scattered pock-marks on the face,

and holes pierced in each of the earlobes. Fully grown, aged approximately twentyseven years.

3. The abovenamed Hushnaki, son of Machhi, son of Dulla, of the Gujjar caste, with wheatish complexion, broad forehead, wide-set brows, dark grey eyes, high nose, dark whiskers, a black mole below the temple, a black mole close to the ear, a black mole below the locks, a black mole below the ear lobe, two moles on the cheek close to the nose, a hole pierced in the shell of the right ear, a black mole on the upper part of the right side of the back of the neck, and a few scattered pock-marks on the face. Fully grown, aged approximately thirtyfive years.

Written on the fifth of Shawwal, of the 20th regnal year of Muhammad Shah Ghazi (January 15, 1738).

Signatures :

1. A sign followed by the words: "The mark of Mahi's signatures".
2. A sign followed by the words: "The mark of Bakhsha's signatures".
3. A sign followed by the words: "The mark of Hushnaki's signatures".

Attestations :

1. Witnessed by
   (below) *seal :* "20. Hasan Beg, son of Alif Beg. 1150" (followed by the words): "On the affirmation of the *muqaddams*".

2. Witnessed by Sidhmal, the *gumāshta* of the *qānūngos* : "On the affirmation of the *muqaddams*".

3. (in Tākri) Witnessed by Chuhar Mal . . . .

4. (in Tākri) Witnessed by Mihar Singh . . . .

(There are three more attestations in Tākri, one being: "witnessed by Jitu Muqaddam"; another *muqaddam* is named as Santu.)

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The seal of Qāzi Muinuddin appears also on documents V and IX. All these documents relate to villages in the *parganas* of Kathua, Pathan and Paniyal. There is a document in *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar* which bears the seal of Qāzi Muinuddin of an earlier date. It may be suggested, therefore, that Qāzi Muinuddin functioned in this area for a number of years. He was either posted to different *pargana* head-quarters during this time or remained at one place with jurisdiction over other *parganas* as well. Probably his office was in Pathankot. Instances are known of *qāzis* appointed for a *pargana* and even in towns without any Muslim population but, then, instances of a single *qāzi* over three or four *parganas* are not unknown. See, *The Chronicles of Oonao,* 113. *Cf.* P. Saran, *Provincial Government,* 340-41, 355-57.

2. The reference in the document is to the Janji clan or tribe of the Gujjars who were found in large numbers in the north of the Indian sub-continent. "Those in the Punjab are all musulmans. . . . There habits are more pastoral than agricultural; . . . . Gujarat in the Chaj Doab, Gujranwala in the Rachna, and Gujarkhan in the Sindh Sagar, are named after them" (Elliot's *Supplemental Glossary,* I, 101-02). According to Denzil Ibbetson "they essentially belong to the lower ranges and sub-mountain tracts" (*Punjab Castes,* 183). For more details see *ibid.,* 182-88. The Janji tribe is not mentioned by Ibbetson.

3. The term *mālik* refers to the proprietors of the village in question who are also its *muqaddams.* Dr. Irfan Habib has emphasized the existence of "proprietary rights" during the Mughal times and some of the documents in this collection definitely confirm his observation. See, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India,* 111-14, 139-40 & 146; also 146-47, 149-50 & 174. See, also, Wilson's *Glossary.*

4. The other name for this village as given in the document is Gajju Basaun. There are two villages, contiguous to each other, and bearing the name "Gajju" in the Pathankot *tahsīl.* These are "Gajju Jagir" and "Gajju Khalsa." The reference is almost certainly to these villages which must have been formed out of what was once only Gajju or Gajju Basaun. The villages are about fifteen miles to the west of Pathankot.

5. Now only a small village west of Pathankot at a distance of 13 miles. The Pindori establishment still owns some land in the village where some followers of the Rajput caste reside.

6. Chief town of the district of the same name in Jammu and Kashmir. It is approached by road now from Lakhanpur on the Pathankot-Jammu link. From the Gurdaspur district, it falls across the Ravi.

7. According to Elliot's *Supplemental Glossary* (II, 166) the term *ghumāons* was "applied to as much land as can be ploughed by one pair of bullocks in a day". Elliot's observation relates to the Delhi territory. He also noticed that the term had lost its original meaning in many places and was used as a measure of land of varying extent. In the Punjab the *ghumāon* appears to have generally consisted of eight *kanāls*. In some of the documents in the present collection the *ghumāon* figures converted into *kanāls* show that in the Upper Bari Doab eight *kanāls* made one *ghumāon*.

8. The Ravi "strikes the boundary of the (Gurdaspur) district in the hills, opposite Basohli (in Jammu)" and flows through the south-western and western part of it. See, the *Gazetteer of the Gurdaspur District*, 1891-92, 8. "As a rule", the *Gazetteer* says, "the Ravi is not noted for very important changes by alluvian or diluvian, but it is subject to very sudden alterations in its course". A reference to the inundation in the Ravi leading to nearly the whole land of a village being submerged under water occurs in document XV.

9. It is interesting to note that what is being called "signatures" here are only some marks (not letters) chosen by the deponents who appear to be unlettered. This practice was quite common during the medieval times.

V

ہو

(seal)
۱۴
سید معین الدین قاضی
خادم شرع متین
۱۱۴۴

اقرار معتبر صحیح شرعی نمودند ہر یک مسمی نتھو ولد سیہیا ابن پہلاد منسا و ہردتا ابنان بھومیان بن پہلاد مذکور قوم زناردار عرف دام مالکان و مقدمان جٹو پور تپہ فریدانگر معمولہ پرگنہ پٹھان دوآبہ باری مضاف صوبہ پنجاب بریںوجہ کہ موضع مذکور از آبا و عجد در حق ملک موروثی مایان است سوائے مایان مالکے و وارثے نیست و از مورثان بمایان ارث رسیده در ینولا موضع مذکور تمام رقبہ زرعی و غیر زرعی سکنی و غیر سکنی معہ اشجار مثمرہ و غیر مثمرہ معہ یک دیہہ چاہ پختہ محدود بحدود اربعہ فی الذیل مواصل الحدود علامات ظاہرات باجمیع و توابع ہر فیہا و ماغنہا بے تعلق بہا برضائے و رغبت خود ہا بوحدت ارادی کہ نذر فقرا مقرر است بطریق بھیٹ یعنی نیاز بہ تعلق ٹھاکردوارہ مکان بھگوان نارائن تملیک گوسائیں رامداس سجادہ نشین مکان مذکور کردیم و موضع مذکور را جیرام پور موسوم ساختہ باختیار خود تردد و کشتکار کنانیده محصول آنرا فصل بفصل سال بسال و وجہ رسوم زمینداری آنجا متصرف شود من بعد ازیں بندہ ہا را بدیہہ مذکورہ و بمالکی و مقدمی وغیرہ حقوق زمینداری دعوائے و دخلے و حقے نیست و نماندہ و خدا نخواستہ باشد اگر احیاناً ثانی الحال کسے از مایان یا غیرے شرکا برائے اخذ ملکیت و وجہات زمینداری دیگر پیدا شود و یا دعوای نماید در شرع شریف و نزد مرشد خود در دنیا و آخرت باطل و کاذب گردد. بنابران این چند کلمہ بطریق مختار نامہ و لادعوای ملکیت دیہہ مسطورہ نوشتہ دادیم کہ ثانی الحال موجب سند باشد کائن ذالک

حد
شرقی آن متصل بزمین چندربھان عمله پرگنه مذکور

حد
جنوبی آن متصل بزمین اورنگ پور سرور
عمله پرگنه مذکور

حد
غربی آن متصل بزمین موضع ننگل احمد ودھاریوال عمله پرگنه مذکور

حد
شمالی آن متصل بزمین جگت پوری عرف بھلوله وبعضی بزمین
موضع طالب پوره ویک قطعه هژده گھماؤں محدود اربع شرقی آن
متصل موضع چندربھان غربی آن متصل بزمین موضع مزبور
وشمالی آن بزمین موضع اورنگ پور سرور عمله پرگنه مسطور

تحریر بتاریخ هفتدهم شهر ذی الحجه سنه ۲۰ جلوس والا

(descriptions in the margin)

حلیه
نتھو مذکور گندم رنگ فراخ پیشانی کشاده ابرو
میش چشم بلند بینی کھوسه ریش در هردو نرمه
گوش سوراخ تمام قد تخمیناً ۲۷ ساله
(below) علامت دستخط نتھو رام

(signatures in Takri)

حلیه
منسا مذکور گندم رنگ فراخ پیشانی کشاده ابرو
میش چشم بلند بینی ریش بروت سیاه
وچند داغ چیچک بررو تمام قد تخمیناً ۲۵ ساله
(below) علامت دستخط منسا

(signatures in Takri)

حلیه
هردتا مذکور گندم رنگ فراخ پیشانی
کشاده ابرو میش چشم بلند بینی
... تمام قد تخمیناً ۷ (sic) ساله
(below) علامت دستخط هردتا

(signatures in Takri)

(attestations)

۱- گواه شد محمد دلیر چودھری بیض
۲- گواه شد محمد پناه چودھری بیض
۳- گواه شد رام دھن چودھری بیض
۴- گواه شد نگاهی مل قانونگوی بیض

V

Hū
(He Is)

(*Seal*)

14
Sayyid Muinuddin Qazi,
ministering to the
Holy Law
1144

This legal declaration, true and authentic, made severally by Nathu, son of Sipahiya, son of Pahlad; Mansa and Harditta, sons of Bhumian, son of the abovementioned Pahlad; of the Brahmin caste, sub-caste Dam, the proprietors and *muqaddams* of the village Jattopur[1] in the *tappa* Faridanagar[2] in the administrative jurisdiction of *pargana* Pathan, in the Bari Doab of the *ṣūba* of Punjab, is to the effect that:

The abovementioned village is our property, inherited from our ancestors and, apart from us, no one has any proprietary or hereditary claims (over it). This has come to us as patrimony from those who had (themselves) got it as inheritance. Now, the abovementioned village, with all its cultivated and uncultivated, inhabited and uninhabited, land, together with all its fruit-bearing and non-fruit-bearing trees and one pucca well, defined by the boundaries given below and with precise indications of boundaries, and with all that is contained therein, complete with every right, was offered by us as a free *bhet,* that is offering, for the *thākurdwārā*[4] of the establishment of Bhagwan-Narain to its present *sajjāda-nishīn,* Gosain Ramdas, entirely of our own accord and volition, and out of the sense of devotion which is due to the holy men. (Gosain Ramdas himself) having renamed the abovementioned village as Jairampur, got the land cultivated and has been in enjoyment of the proceeds thereof, together with the *rasūm-i-zamīndāri,*[5] harvest after harvest and year after year. Now we have no claims whatsoever on the abovementioned village in respect of proprietary, *muqaddami* and other *zamīndāri* rights. God forbid, if any one of us or our associates, now or in the future, advances any claims in respect of proprietary and *zamīndāri* rights, or files a suit, he will be regarded as false and untrue before the Holy Law and before his *murshid,*[6] in this world and the next. On that account, these few words have been given by us in writing by way of *mukhtārnāma,*[7] renouncing all rights of proprietor in the aforesaid village, so that it serves as a *sanad* in the future.

Boundaries :

Eastern : adjoining the land of Chander Bhan[8] in the administrative jurisdiction of the abovementioned *pargana.*

Western : adjoining the land of the village Nangal Ahmad[9] and Dhariwal[10] in the administrative jurisdiction of the abovementioned *pargana.*

Southern : adjoining the land of the village Aurangpur Sarwar[11] in the administrative jurisdiction of the abovementioned *pargana.*

Northern : adjoining the land of the village Jagatpur

Wali[12] *alias* Bahlola; (with) some parts adjoining the village Talibpur.

(Also,) a piece of eighteen *ghumāons* of land bound on the east by the village Chander Bhan; on the west, by the land of Aurangpur Sarwar; on the south, by the land of the aforesaid village (in the text); and on the north, by the land of the village Aurangpur Sarwar in the administrative jurisdiction of the said *pargana*.

Written on the 17th of Zulhijja of the auspicious (regnal) year 20 (March 27, 1738).

Descriptions :

1. The abovementioned Nathu, with wheatish complexion, broad forehead, wide-set eyebrows, dark-grey eyes, high nose, ... whiskers and with a hole pierced in each of the ear lobes. Fully grown, aged approximately twentyseven years.
   (below) Signatures in Tākri followed by: "The mark of Nathu Ram's signatures".

2. The abovementioned Mansa, with wheatish complexion, broad forehead, wide-set eyebrows, dark-grey eyes, high nose, dark whiskers and with a few pock-marks on the face. Fully grown, aged approximately twentyfive years.
   (below) Signatures in Tākri followed by: "The mark of Mansa's signatures".

3. The abovementioned Harditta, with wheatish complexion, broad forehead, wide-set eyebrows, dark-grey eyes, high nose. . . . Fully grown, aged approximately seven (?) years.

(below) Signatures in Tākri followed by: "The mark of Harditta's signatures".

Attestations :

1. Witnessed by Chaudhari[13] Muhammad Daler. *Baiz.*
2. Witnessed by Chaudhari Muhammad Panah. *Baiz*
3. Witnessed by Chaudhari Ram Dhan. *Baiz.*
4. Witnessed by Qanungo Nigahi Mal. *Baiz.*

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. This is apparently the same village as the present Jattowal, two miles south of Pindori.

2. Now a village in the Pathankot *tahsīl,* 6 miles southwest of Pathankot, and about nine miles north of Pindori.

3. The *ṣūba* of Punjab in this document refers obviously to the Mughal Province of Lahore. This identification was not uncommon already in the 17th century when it was accepted by many a contemporary European traveller. *Cf.* Tripta Wahi, "European Travellers on the Mughal Punjab", to be published in the *Proceedings of the Punjab History Conference,* Patiala, 1968.

4. Literally, "the house of the Lord". This is the name by which Vaishnava temples are generally referred to. This description of Vaishnava temples is especially employed in the hill regions to distinguish them from the temples dedicated to Shiva and the Devi, which are more numerous.

5. *Rasūm-i-zamīndāri* is defined by Wilson in his *Glossary* as "the fees or perquisites allowed to the Zamindār by the Mohammadan government, or by a commission generally of 5 per cent on the gross collections; or it sometimes designated his Malikana"; also "fees levied by a Zamindār on his tenants, either on particular occasions, or a fine or quit-rent". See, also, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India,* 151-57.

6. *Murshid* has here its ordinary connotation of "guide to the right way" or the head of a religious order. The use of this term for the *mahant* of Pindori is quite interesting, for the term was used generally for Sufi Shaikhs by their disciples. In fact the words *pīr* and *murshid* frequently occur together as synonyms.

7. "A deed appointing a representative or agent, a power of attorney: a deed executed by the co-sharers of a hereditary office to discharge its duties" (Wilson, *Glossary*). In the present docu-

ment the term appears to bear a little unusual connotation. It appears to refer to the possession as well as the rights relating to the land in question which have been transferred to Gosain Ramdas through a legal transaction.

8. Situated at a distance of a little over 2 miles to the south of Pindori. The village was, before the partition, generally inhabited by Muslims.

9. It is difficult to identify this village, for it appears to have undergone a change of name. If its name has indeed been changed, it is likely, judging from its situation, to be one of the villages now called Khichian or Bhathan.

10. Situated at a distance of about 2 miles to the south-west of Pindori. This small village is to be distinguished from the town of the same name on the road from Batala to Gurdaspur.

11. We have unfortunately not been able to identify this village. No village of this name exists at present. At the most one can hazard the guess that it is the same as the village now called Narainpur, five miles south-east of Pindori.

12. We have not been able to identify this village. It is likely that its name now is different from the one it had in the period to which this document belongs.

13. Several of these witnesses are *chaudharīs*. The *chaudharī* occupied a crucial position in the machinery of revenue collection and usually was a *zamīndār*. For a little more detail see, *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar*, 155-56, n. 4. *Cf*. P. Saran, *Provincial Government*, 458-60.

VI

(seal)

قاضی معین الدین)

صورت حال . بیان واقع است (above)

باعث تحریر این سطور آنکه موضع هریرام پور سکهدیو معه داخلا عرف رسولپور علی
عملها پرگنه پنیال و موضع بهگوان پور سیدهر وغیره عمله پرگنه پٹهان دوآبه باری
مضاف صوبه پنجاب به تفصیل ذیل در تعلقه فقرائے سجاده نشین پنڈوری
بهگوان نارائن که مریدان خرید کرده برائے مصارف قوت فقرائی نیاز گذرانیدند
و گماشتهائے فقرائی مذکور بعهده ملکیت همیشه بر دیهات مذکور دخیل و قابض
و متصرف اند گوسائیں رامداس سجاده نشین در ماه ذوالحجه سنه ۱۱۴۹ بطریق
سیر در موضع راجا خاصه عمله پرگنه نورپور رفته بود و بعد چندے فریب مقصد از
فرقه سنیاسی که بفرقه بیراگیان عداوت قدیم دارند قابو یافته بر گوسائیں مذکور
ریخته آنچه مال و متاع و اسناد هائے تعلقه بود همه بغارت برده چندکس را از فقرای
زحمت ساخته و بجان کشته رفتند چنانچه وقوع این معنی مشهور عالم و اظهر من الشمس
است برین تقدیر سجاده نشین مذکور استدعای صورت حال وقوع این مقدمه نمود
لهذا عمله و فعله و مردم نقاب (؟) ارباب تحریر کتابت قرب و جوار که از خرید و ملکیت
و مداخلت دیهات گوسائیں مذکور از قدیم واقف و آگاه بودند صورت حال
بمواهر و گواهی معتبر نوشته دادند که مواضعات گوسائیں مذکور مرقومه بموجب
قباله هائے شرعی سالها سال به تعلق گماشتهائے گوسائیں مذکور مقرر است
احدے را مطابق شریعت غرّا از مزارعان دیهات مزبوره به حجت مالکی
و زمینداری دعوای و دخلے نیست صورت حال برین منوال است پس
هر کرا از صحت این حال و صدق این مقال خبرے و اطلاعے بوده باشد
شهادت در ذیل این تذکره ثبت نماید که عندالله ماجور عندالناس مشکور
گردد این صورت حال بمنزله اسناد دیهات مذکوره تواند بود

مواضعات بنیال		مواضعات پٹھان	
هریرام پور سکھدیو	رسولپور علی	بھگوان پور سیدھر	جیرام پور عرف جٹووال
عرف خوجه پور	داخلا	مهانراج پور	

تحریر فی الثانی

(attestations in the margin)

۱ - “نام غیر معلوم”: و گواہی در ہندی نوشته است
۲ - گواہ شد محمد عظمت چودھری: “محمد عظمت”
۳ - گواہ شد محمد غازی چودھری: “محمد غازی”
۴ - گواہ شد گل محمد چودھری: “گل محمد”
۵ - گواہ شد ابراہیم چودھری
۶ - گواہ شد عجائب رائے چودھری: “عجائب رائے”
۷ - گواہ شد اجوّ چودھری
۸ - گواہ شد رام دھن: “رام دھن”
۹ - گواہ شد محمد پناہ چودھری
۱۰ - گواہ شد عبدالرحمان: “عبدالرحمان”
۱۱ - گواہ شد چندا چودھری: “چندا”
۱۲ - “نگاہی مل”
۱۳ - گواہ شد نہال چند: “نہال چند”
۱۴ - گواہ شد محمد عمر: “محمد عمر”
۱۵ - “لچھی رام”: و گواہی این در ہندی نوشته است
۱۶ - گواہ شد محمود چودھری: “محمود”
۱۷ - گواہ شد رام دھن: “رام دھن”
۱۸ - گواہ شد “نام غیر معلوم”: “نام معلوم نیست”
۱۹ - “ہرجیت”: گواہی این در ہندی نوشته است
۲۰ - گواہ شد چودھری نظام: “نظام”
۲۱ - گواہ شد محمود: “محمود”
۲۲ - “نام غیر معلوم”: “نام غیر معلوم”

VI

(*Seal*)[1]
Qazi Muinuddin

(above) "The statement is verily true to the facts".

The purpose of the following lines is that:

The village Harirampur Sukhdev,[2] together with Dakhla[3] *alias* Rasulpur Ali, in the administrative jurisdiction of *pargana* Paniyal,[4] and Bhagwanpur Saidhar[5] and other villages (as detailed below) in the administrative jurisdiction of *pargana* Pathan, in the *Bari Doab* within the *ṣūba* of Punjab, were in the possession of the holy *sajjāda-nishīns* of the Pindori of Bhagwan-Narain, having been purchased and offered to them by their followers for the maintenance of the holy men. The *gumāshtas* of the abovementioned holy men have always been in occupation and possession of the abovementioned villages in proprietary capacity. Gosain Ramdas, the present *sajjāda-nishīn*, had, in the month of Zulhijja of the year A.H. 1149 (A.D. 1736-37), gone on a visit to the village Raja Khasa[6] in the administrative jurisdiction of *pargana* Nurpur.[7] Then, some evil-intentioned persons belonging to the sect of Sannyasis[8] who bear a long-standing enmity towards the sect of Bairagis were induced to fall upon the abovementioned Gosain. They (the Sannyasis) robbed him of all his belongings and relevant *sanads*, and went away after having wounded some of the holy men (in the company of Gosain Ramdas) and having killed some of them. And this incident, manifest as the Sun itself, is known all over the world. Having met this fate, the abovementioned *sajjāda-nishīn* humbly reported this unfortunate incident (to the authorities). Consequently, the functionaries and the respectable and knowledgeable persons of the neighbourhood, who were well aware for a long time of the purchases, proprietary rights and possessions of the abovementioned Gosain in (these) villages, gave reliable evidence in writing and put their seals to the following effect: that the villages of the abovementioned Gosain have been in possession of his *gumāshtas* for years together in accordance with legal deeds. No one from amongst the *mazāri's* of the aforesaid villages has any claims regarding proprietorship, *zamīndāri* or any other right of interference justified by the Holy Law. This is the true state of affairs. Therefore, whosoever has any knowledge of the veracity of this matter should inscribe his signatures below, for "it rests with God to reward and with man to be grateful"[9], so that this statement becomes an authentic *sanad* for the abovementioned villages.

Villages of Paniyal

Harirampur Sukhdev *alias* Khojapur.
Rasulpur Ali (*alias*) Dakhla.

Villages of Pathan

Bhagwanpur Saidhar.
Jairampur *alias* Jattowal.
Mahanrajpur[10].

A true copy of the original.

Attestations (in the margin):

1. "This attestation is in Hindi script".
   (below) *seal*: "illegible".

2. Witnessed by Chaudhari Muhammad Azmat.
(below) *seal*: "Muhammad Azmat".

3. Witnessed by Chaudhari Muhammad Ghazi.
(below) *seal*: "Muhammad Ghazi".

4. Witnessed by Chaudhari Gul Muhammad.
(below) *seal*: "Gul Muhammad".

5. Witnessed by Chaudhari Ibrahim.

6. Witnessed by Chaudhari Ajaib Rai.
(below) *seal*: "Ajaib Rai".

7. Witnessed by Chaudhari Ajju.

8. Witnessed by Ram Dhan.
(below) *seal*: "Ram Dhan".

9. Witnessed by Chaudhari Muhammad Panah.

10. Witnessed by Abdul Rahman.
(below) *seal*: "Abdul Rahman".

11 Witnessed by Chaudhari Chanda.
(below) *seal*: "Chanda".

12. *Seal*: "Nigahi Mal".

13. Witnessed by Nihal Chand.
(below) *seal*: "Nihal Chand".

14. Witnessed by Muhammad Umar.
(below) *seal:* "Muhammad Umar".

15. "This attestation is in the Hindi script."
(below) *seal*: "Lachhi Ram".

16. Witnessed by Chaudhari Mahmud.
(below) *seal*: "Mahmud".

17. Witnessed by Ram Dhan.
(below) *seal*: "Ram Dhan".

18. Witnessed by... ("illegible").
(below) seal: "illegible".

19. "This attestation is in the Hindi script".
(below *seal* : "Harchait".

20. Witnessed by Chaudhari Nizam.
(below) *seal*: "Nizam".

21. Witnessed by Mahmud.
(below) *seal* : "Mahmud".

22. Illegible.
(below) *seal:* "Illegible".

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. This document being only a copy, as it is indicated towards the end of its text by the copyist's phrase *tahrir-fi'al-sāni,* the seal does not actually appear on the document and it has been only incompletely reproduced by the copyist. The date, therefore, is missing, but it is likely to be the same as on the previous document.

2. The village is known now only as Khojepur and lies three miles west of Pindori along the Nanunangal distributary canal. The other name, Harirampur Sukhdev, appears to have been given to the village after Gosains Hari Ram and Sukh Nidhan of Pindori, but the name Khojepur, as it occurs in the revenue records, has alone survived.

3. There are several Dakhlas in the Gurdaspur district but the one which is mentioned here most probably is the village of this name two miles north-west of Pindori.

4. This is almost certainly the large-sized village that is now known as Paniyar and lies at a distance of a little over four miles from Pindori in the north-western direction. The village is generally believed to be cursed and few people refer to it by this name; the indirect reference to it as "Ucha Pind" or "high village" being preferred. This name arises from the village being situated on a slight eminence.

5. This village, four miles north-east of Pindori, is now known only as Bhagwanpur. The entire land of the village belongs to the Pindori establishment.

6. This village is situated between Damtal and Nurpur, and lay formerly in the Nurpur territory. Damtal, four miles from Pathankot, is the seat of the large Vaishnava establishment which is closely associated with the Pindori *gaddi.*

7. The important state of this name once formed a part of Punjab Hill States. The town of Nurpur is at a distance of about fifteen miles from Pathankot and is now the headquarters

of a *tahsīl* in the Kangra district. The ruling dynasty of Nurpur was Pathania and it was closely associated with the Mughals. See, Hutchison and Vogel, *History of the Panjab Hill States,* I, 213-264.

8. "The word Sannyasi really means nothing more than the ascetic stage through which every Brahman should pass. But as commonly used it corresponds among the followers of Siva with Bairagi among the followers of Vishnu, and is as indefinite in its meaning. It is indeed specially applied to the Tridandi Ramanujas, a Vaishnava sect; but is also used to include all Saiva classes of ascetics except perhaps the Jogi" (Ibbetson, *Panjab Castes,* 227). The reference to the Sannyasis here remains thus slightly ambiguous, and we are certain only of it meaning some holy men. The "enmity" between the Bairagis and the Sannyasis took sometimes the form of open conflict. There is a reference in Abul Fazl to one such fight at Haridwar witnessed by the Emperor Akbar and there is even a Mughal painting of this theme. See, S. Carey Welch, Jr., "The Paintings of Basawan", *Lalit Kala,* No. 10, fig. 15.

9. The literal meaning of this *āyat* is: "Unto God is the reward and unto man is gratitude". We are indebted for this translation to our friend Mr. A. I. Tirmizi of the National Archives of India, New Delhi.

10. At a distance of three miles from Pindori in the north-eastern direction. The entire village is the property of the Pindori establishment.

VII

(seal)

شیخ معزالدین
دا ثوض امری الی اللہ
مفتی شرع متین

اقرار معتبر شرعی کرد طایعاً مخبر باسم و نسب خود مسمی بخت مل بن ٹھاکرداس بن راجارام
بر ینوجہ کہ وے فروخت اصالتہ بر بیع وفا بدست سُچارام بن نانک چند بن مولراج
ہمگی و تمامی یک قطعہ زمین یک قطعہ زمین مشتملبر یک ایوان و یک حجرہ و چھجہ دار مزار روای و
یک حجرہ و یک ایوان طنبی بر یک مسقفہ مرتبہ منبوش (؟)، مبنی بعمارت خشت پختہ واقعہ
لاہور گذر حاجی سرائے کہنہ محلہ آباد (؟)، ملک رنگا مشہور محدود بدین حدود اربعہ

شرقی
المتصل بدیوار خانہ درباری بن لدھا

غربی
المتصل بدیوار خانہ ٹھاکر سنگھ
و بعض ملحقہ براستہ و من الباب

شمالی
المتصل ملحقہ براستہ

جنوبی
المتصل بدیوار ٹھاکر سنگھ مذکور

حق و ملک مقبوض خود را بمبلغ یک صد و ہشت روپیہ جنس راضی
تمام وزن کہ نصفہ پنجاہ و چہار روپیہ موصوفہ باشد و خرید مشتری مذکور
تمامی مبیعہ مذکورہ را از بالغ مذکور بہ مبلغ مذکور فی الجملہ بیعاً و شراً صحیحاً و شرعیاً
جایزاً و اقرار المتعاقدان المذکوران بوقوع التقابض الشرعی بینما
فی الہذاین المذکورین و نقد تمام العقد ہذا وعدہ لازم الوفا کردہ
مشتری مذکور با بالغ مذکور کہ ہرگاہ بالغ مذکور متن مبلغ مذکور را بہ مشتری مذکور
باز بدہد وی این بیع را فسخ و افادہ شاید و بالغ مذکور قبول وعدہ
مذکور نمودہ حلال و متاح گردانید مشتری مذکور را انتفاع سکنی و
اخذ کرایہ آن را تا ادائی مبلغ مذکور درست ذمہ مالک است و باقسم و
بست بالغ مذکور بریں کہ مبیعہ مذکورہ مشخصہ مقبوضہ وے بود من غیر شرکہ
و حق من الغیر امادقت البیع والتسلیم اختیار کردند بھیرو مل بن برج ناتھ
بن جگن ناتھ و گنجا مل بن ٹھاکرداس مذکور و عابد محلہ دار بن عبدالعزیز بن آدینہ بیگ
تحریراً فی التاریخ ۵ شہر رمضان المبارک سنہ ۱۱۵۳

(descriptions in the margin)

۱۔ چہرہ
بخت مل مذکور گندم رنگ فراخ پیشانی کشادہ ابرو
ریش بروت سیاہ چند موئے سفید ہر دو نرمہ گوش
سوراخ رسولی و سوراخ ... جانب
چپ سوراخ بر ... جانب راست تمام قد ۵۰ سالہ

۲۔ چہرہ
بھیرو مخبر مذکور گندم رنگ فراخ پیشانی کشادہ ابرو بلند بینی
ریش بروت سیاہ بعض موئے سفید نرمہ ہر دو نرمہ گوش
سوراخ تمام قد ۵۰ سالہ

۳۔ چہرہ
گنجا مل مخبر مذکور گندم رنگ فراخ پیشانی کشادہ ابرو بلند بینی
ریش بروت سیاہ بعض موئے سفید داغہائے چیچک
متفرقہ بر رو ہر دو نرمہ گوش
سوراخ تمام قد ۴۵ سالہ

۴۔ چہرہ
عابد مخبر مذکور گندم رنگ فراخ پیشانی کشادہ ابرو بلند بینی
ریش بروت سیاہ داغہائے چیچک اتفاقیہ
سوراخ ... داغہائے چیچک
متفرقہ ... تمام قد ۲۵ سالہ

(attestations)

۱۔ گواہ شد فقیر محمد حنیف
"محمد حنیف ۱۱۴۸" (seal)
۲۔ گواہی ہندوی گنڈا مل سہگل
۳۔ گواہی ہندوی بالک رام سنگھ
۴۔ گواہی ہندوی ناہر سہگل
۵۔ گواہی مولا سہگل

(also others, in Takri)

VII

A(llahu Akbar)

(God is Great)

(Seal)[1]

Shaikh Muizuddin
Expounder of the Sacred Law.
"And I commit my case unto God
making Him arbiter thereof".

This solemn and legal affirmation, willingly made by the deponent, his name and extraction being Bakhtmal, son of Thakur Das, son of Rajaram, (is) in respect of the sale, based on a binding transaction, of one piece of land, with full rights, to Sucha Ram, son of Nanak Chand, son of Mulraj. This piece of land, consisting of a portico, a chamber and a common sitting place with an eave (on the ground floor), one chamber and a loggia on the upper storey, in pucca bricks (is) situated in the *Muhalla* of... popularly known as Malik Ranga, in the Old Haji Sarai,[2] in Lahore, and (is) bound on its four sides by the following:

In the east: by the wall of the house of Darbari, son of Ladha.

In the west: by the wall of the house of Thakur Singh and partly by the passage and the Gate.

In the north: by the passage.

In the south: by the wall (of the house) of the above-mentioned Thakur Singh.

(The deponent has sold) his title to this property for the amount of one hundred and eight rupees in acceptable coin of the full weight, the half of which is fiftyfour rupees ; and, for the abovementioned amount, the aforesaid object of sale (is being transferred) in entirety to the abovementioned vendee from the vendor, in accordance with this legal and authentic transaction of a valid sale on the affirmation of the abovementioned parties through the transfer of actual possession from one party to the other. The abovementioned vendee has solemnly pledged to pay the amount in full to the vendor and when this amount has been paid up by the vendee to the vendor, this transaction of sale will be deemed to be complete and mature. This vendor, being satisfied with this pledge, regards this transaction as legitimate and final. The vendee will have the benefit of residence and until the abovementioned amount has been paid in full, the rent of the premises will accrue to the owner (the vendor) through his obligatory undertaking. Thus, the abovementioned object of sale, as defined above, becomes the sole possession (of the vendee) without any rights in it belonging to anyone else. Present as sureties at the sale and its acceptance (were) Bhairomal, son of Brijnath, son of Jagan Nath; and Ganja Mal, son of the abovementioned Thakur Das; and Abid, the *muhalladār,* son of Abdul Aziz, son of Adina Beg.

Written on the 5th of Ramzanul-Mubarak of the year A.H. 1153 (November 13, 1740).

Descriptions :

1. The aforesaid Bakhtmal, with wheatish complexion, broad forehead, wide-set eyebrows, dark whiskers with some white hair, with holes pierced in each of the earlobes. . . . Fully grown, aged fifty years.
(below, in Tākri) "Signatures of Bakhtmal".

2. The aforesaid Bhairo, with wheatish complexion, broad forehead, wide-set eyebrows, high nose, dark whiskers with some white hair, and with holes pierced in each of the earlobes. Fully grown, aged fifty years.
(below, in Tākri) "Signatures of Bhairo".

3. The aforesaid Ganja Mal, with wheatish complexion, broad forehead, wide-set eyebrows, high nose, dark whiskers, pockmarks all over the face and with holes pierced in each of the earlobes. Fully grown, aged fortyfive years.
(below, in Tākri) "Signatures of Ganja Mal".

4. The aforesaid Abid, with wheatish complexion, broad forehead, wide-set eyebrows, high nose, dark whiskers, a few scattered pockmarks upon the face. Fully grown, aged twentyfive years.

Attestations :

1. Witnessed by the humble Muhammad Hanif.
   (below) *seal*: "Muhammad Hanif 1148".
2. Witnessed by Ganda Mal Sehgal (in Tākri).
3. Witnessed by Ram Singh (in Tākri).
4. Witnessed by Nahar Sehgal (in Tākri).
5. Witnessed by Mula Sehgal (in Tākri).

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Shaikh Muizuddin of this seal calls himself the *mufti* of the *shara'*. Charles Elliot, basing himself upon some documents of Oonao, suggests that the *mufti* was "entirely a judicial officer employed to give his opinion on the law in different criminal cases. He also acted as a Registrar and received fees for affixing his seal to papers" (*The Chronicles of Oonao,* 116). In the present document, however, the Shaikh has assumed for himself the *qāzi's* position. It is possible therefore, that the term *mufti* is used here in its ordinary connotation of "an expounder of the Muhammadan Law". *Cf.* P. Saran, *Provincial Government,* 345-47, 247, n. 3.

2. We have not been able to identify this *muhalla* of the Old Haji Sarai. Syed Muhammad Latif's *Lahore* does not help us on the point.

3. According to Wilson's *Glossary,* the *Muhalladār* was an officer in charge of a particular quarter of the town and "bound to give information to the Darogha of the police of any disorderly conduct, or the presence of culprits". It is probable that the *muhalladār* of the present document signs it not in his official but personal capacity. His participation in a legal transaction between two non-Muslims is nevertheless worth noting.

VIII

هو

(seal)
آدینه بیگ خان (؟)
فدوی پادشاه غازی
محمد شاه

(seal)
خواجه ابوضیا خان
خانه زاد پادشاه غازی
محمد شاه
۱۱۵۱

(seal)
۲۳
قاضی هدایت الله
وافوض امری الی الله
خادم شرع رسول الله
۱۱۵۴

(seal)
خواجه عبدالرزاق خان
۱۱۳۱

(on the margin)
بیان واقعه است

ذکریست دربیان آنکه موضع بهگوان پور سیدهر عرف ابراهیم پور عمله پرگنه پٹهان
دوآبه باری مضاف صوبه پنجاب راجه رام سنگه جسوال از اودیرام و ماهی و دهرب
و جگا وغیره زنارداران خرید کرده بطریق نیاز بوحدت ارادی
در پنڈوری گسائین بهگوان نراین به گسائین هریرام درویش
سجاده نشین مکان مذکور که مرشد راجه معز الیه بود گذرانیده
که هرچه پیدا شود برائ خرج فقرائ باب الله و مسافرین و مترددین
بکار آید چنانچه از مدت چهل سال موضع مذکور بمکان پنڈوری
تعلق گسائین سکهدیو بعد ازان به تعلق گسائین رامداس
سجاده نشین آنجا مقرر است فوجداران چکله جموں و صاحب جاگیر
موافق پٹه استمرار بعمل آورده درویشان گسائین مذکور در دیهه
قابض و متصرف اند چون زناردران مذکور بیشتر از قدیم الایام مرید
گسائین مذکور اند اندرین ضمن هرسهائے زناردار اولاد جگا از مریدی
مرشد انحراف ورزیده بحضور خان والاشان آدینه بیگ خان و در عمل
رائے گوردت مل و خان عوالی نشان محمد مرزا خان نایبان فوجداری چکله جموں
استغاثه کرده دعوای ملکیت دیهه مسطور نموده بود چنانچه نایبان مزبور
برطبق شریعت غرّا از روئے نفس الامر در عین حیات جگا پدر
هرسهائے مزبور زمینداران موضع مذکور و چودهریان و قانونگویان

عمله وفعله پرگنه را طلب داشته استفسار این مقدمه نمودند بموجب اظهار آنها بصدق پیوست که اظهار هرسهائے درمقدمه دعوای ملکیت حصه اد محض خلاف کذب صریح است نایبان مذکور از روی راستی وبرطبق حکم شرع شریف او را جواب داده باطل کرده ومچلکه لادعوی دیهه مذبور ازجگا والد هرسهائے مزبور و دیگر زمینداران موضع مرقوم بمهر شریعت پناه قاضی سید معین الدین و بدستخط آنها وبگواهی معتبران عمله وفعله نویسانیده بگسائین مذکور دادند و زمینداران مذکور از اظهار هرسهائے نادم شده مقر شدند که بعد ازین بوجه من الوجوه وثبت من الاثبات مایان را دعوی و دخلے وحقے باموضع مذکور نیست ونمانده چنانچه شرح مچلکه آنها در محرف صورت حال تحریر یافته درین اثنائے موضع مذبور به جاگیر امارت و ایالت مرتبت نواب عالی جناب نواب یحیی خان بهادر از تغیر راجه محمد سعید خان شاه پوریه مقرر شد دریںولا باز هرسهائے مذکور بعد مردن جگا مرقوم بامید حکومت نوسبقت کرده از راه شوم طمعی وکوته اندیشی از بیرخانه خود منحرف گشته چنانچه موافق روایت ها از هردو فرقه و در هر مذهب اظهار او جایز وروا نیست ناحق و بے موجب شرعی باراده استغاثه بحضور متصدیان نواب معزالیهه بدار الخلافه رفته می خواهد که از راه خلاف بنائ گله و شکوه درویشان و تقریر دیهه مزبور اظهار نموده بدست آویز سخنات لباس پروانه دیهه مذبور بنام خود حاصل نماید از آنجا که خدا یار حق است وبمال ومتروکه درویشان احدے را مداخلت ومزاحمت نیست چنانچه موله تعالی وَلَاتَذِرُ وَاِزرَةٌ وِّزرَ اُخرٰی بتصدق فرق مبارک قدر قدرت و بسلامتی صاحب جاگیر بدعای خیر اشتغال داشته قابض ومتصرف اند چنانچه از قدیم الایام درممالک محروسه الملک دلیل القبض موافق شریعت غرّا مقرر است بنابران از سادات عظام وقضات اهل اسلام وچودهریان وقانونگویان وغیره ارباب تحریر پرگنه مذکور برائے اعتماد وصدق وقوع این معنی به متصدیان صاحب جاگیر که اظهار کذب هرسهائے بطال بظهور رسید ادای شهادت می خواند

کہ برائے رد دعوی خلاف گو مزبور گواہی خود ہا در ذیل ایں تذکرہ ثبت نمایند
کہ سابق ازیں چند دفعات بموجب مچلکات و اقرار نوشتہ آنہا
در عدالت کچہری چکلہ جموں دعوی او باطل برآمد شدہ والحال ہم اظہار او کہ نزد
متصدیان حضور نالش می نماید محض لباس و کذب صریح است پس اظہار لباسی
مزبور در حضور پذیرا نگردد جمیع زمینداران موضع مذکور و چودھریان و قانونگویان
وغیرہ ارباب تحریر پرگنہ مرقوم از ملکیت عمل و دخل کسان گسائین
مذکور واقف و آگاہ و راضی و شاکر اند و ہر سہائے را با موضع مذکور
بوجہی من الوجوہ دعوی و دخلے نیست صورت حال برین منوال است

شرح مچلکہ اقرار بتاریخ سویم شہر رجب سنہ ۱۱۵۱
بمہر شریعت پناہ قاضی سید معین الدین و بدستخط ارباب تحریر
د جگا و ماہی و دھرب و گودر وغیرہ چودھریان تپہ فریدانگر
عملہ پرگنہ پٹھان آنکہ مایان کہ جگا و ماہی و دھرب
و گودر وغیرہ چودھریان تپہ فریدانگر عملہ پرگنہ پٹھان ایم چون موضع ابراہیم پور سیدھر
عملہ پرگنہ مذکور بموجب تمسک تعلق راجہ اجیت سنگہ جسوال است در ینولا
بحضور متصدیان سرکار خان والا شان آدینہ بیگ خان اقرار نمائیم
کہ احدے از مایان در دیہہ مذکور و با دامان راجہ معز الیہہ مداخلت
و مناقشہ زمینداری نماید گنہگار سرکار باشیم و جرمانہ سرکار بدہیم
بنا بران این چند کلمہ بطریق مچلکہ نوشتہ دادیم کہ ثانی الحال سند باشد

(attestations in the margin)

۱- گواہ شد
سنتوکھ رائے منشی صورت حال بیان واقع است
(below—seal) "۱۴ بھوانی سہائے سنتوکھ رائے" (affixed twice)

۲- گواہ شد
حکومت رائے منشی صورت حال بیان واقع است
(below—seal) "۱۷ حکومت رائے بھگوان سہائے" (affixed twice)

۳- گواہ شد
بھولا ناتھ منشی صورت حال بیان واقع است
(below—seal) "۱۹ بھگوان سہائے بھولا ناتھ"

۶- (in Tākri) ” اگاہی اِجّت ... صرت حال صحیح “

(seals) ” ۲۳ راکھو عزت رام “

۷- گواہ شد نرپت سنگہ چودھری: ” صورت حال بیان واقع “ (است)

(seal) ” ۱۴ نرپت سنگہ “

۸- گواہ شد محمد دلیر چودھری: ” صورت حال بیان واقع است “

(seal) ” دارد امید شفاعت ز محمد دلیر “

۹- (in Tākri) ” اگاہی نندسنگہ : صرت صحیح “

۱۰- (in Tākri) ” اگاہی گاجی “

(seal) ” غازی خان محمد ... خانی “

۱۱- گواہ شد عجائب رائے قانونگوی: ” صورت حال بیان واقع است “ بیض

(seal) ” عجائب است زندگانی “

۱۲- (in Tākri) ” اگاہی گھمنڈی : صرت حال صحیح “

(below) گواہی گھمنڈی چودھری

۱۳- گواہ شد جیت مل برادر ہردیال قانونگوی بیض

(seal) ” جیت مل ابن دیانت رائے “

۱۴- (in Tākri) ” اگاہی ... “

(above) گواہی دیپ چند چودھری تپہ ادانکھ

۱۵- (in Tākri) ” اگاہی ... “

(above) گواہی ستونت رائے گماشتہ راجہ ...

(reverse)

(where the two pieces of paper join)

(thrice) نقل صحیح

(seal) ۲۳

قاضی ہدایت اللہ

وافوض امری الی اللہ

خادم شرع رسول اللہ

۱۱۵۴

VIII

Hū
(He is)

(*Seal*)[1]
Adina Beg Khan (?)
Servant of Padshah Ghazi
Muhammad Shah . . .

(*Seal*)[2]
Khwaja Abu Ziya Khan,
the Khanazad of Padshah
Ghazi Muhammad Shah
1151
(A.D. 1738-39)

(*Seal*)[3]
23
Qazi Hidayatullah
ministering to the Law
of the Prophet
of God
"And I commit my case unto God
making Him arbiter thereof"
1154
(A.D. 1741-42)

(*Seal*)[4]
Khwaja Abdul Razzaq Khan
1131
(A.D. 1718-19)

The following statement is to the effect that Raja Ram Singh Jaswal,[5] having purchased the village Bhagwanpur Saidhar *alias* Ibrahimpur Saidhar in the administrative jurisdiction of *pargana* Pathan in the Bari Doab of the *ṣūba* of Punjab, from Ude Ram, Mahi, Dhrub, Jagga and others, all Brahmins (by caste), presented it out of his sense of devotion as offering to his *murshid,* Gosain Hariram, the holy *sajjāda-nishīn* of the establishment at Pindori of Gosain Bhagwan-Narain. This was done so that whatsoever accrued (from that village) was spent for the sustenance of the holy men of God, travellers, and other wanderers. Thus, for a period of forty years the abovementioned village has remained first with Gosain Sukhdev and afterwards with Gosain Ramdas, the *sajjāda-nishīns* of that place (Pindori). The *faujdārs*[6] of the *chakla*[7] of Jammu[8] and the *jāgīrdārs*[9] have acted in accordance with the *patta-i- istimrār*[10] and the holy men (belonging to the establishment) of the abovementioned Gosain have been in possession and enjoyment of the village.

Now, the abovementioned Brahmins have since olden days been the followers of the abovementioned Gosains. (However), in this connection, the Brahmin Har Sahai, son of Jagga, having denounced his *murshids,* had brought a suit before the exalted Khan.[11] Adina Beg Khan, Rai Gurdit Mal, and the illustrious Khan, Muhammad Mirza Khan, the *nāib-faujdār* of the *chakla* of Jammu, and had advanced a claim to the proprietorship of the said village. Therefore, the aforesaid *nāibs,* taking into account both the Holy Law and the personal evidence of the then living Jagga, the father of the aforesaid Har Sahai, had summoned the *zamīndārs* of the abovementioned village, the *chaudharīs,* the *qānūngos,* and the other functionaries of the *pargana* to investigate into this case. According to their evidence, it had become manifest that the depositions of Har Sahai in respect of proprietary claims to his share were perverse and absolutely false. The abovementioned *nāibs,* following the path of truth and the dictates of the

Holy Law, had dismissed his suit, thereby proving him to be false; they had also obtained and given to the abovementioned Gosain a disclaimer relating to the aforesaid village from Jagga, the father of the aforesaid Har Sahai, the other *zamīndārs* of the said village who put their signatures on the document under the seal of the asylum of Law, Qazi Sayyid Muinuddin, attested by some of the trustworthy functionaries. (In fact) the abovementioned *zamīndārs,* repentant over Har Sahai's (false) claims, had given a solemn undertaking that they would not on any account or pretext whatsoever advance claims of any rights to the abovementioned village. Accordingly a formal deed to this effect had been drawn up.

Meanwhile, the aforesaid village fell within the *jāgīr* of the exalted and honourable Nawab[13] of lofty status, Nawab Yahiya Khan Bahadur,[14] by transfer from Raja Muhammad Said Khan of Shahpur.[15] Upon this, once again the abovementioned Har Sahai, after the death of the aforesaid Jagga, hoping to gain from this change of authority, denounced his family preceptor (*pīr*[16]) out of avarice and shortsightedness, an act which is regarded as wrong and improper according to every faith and the traditions of both the communities.[17] Now, without any legal right or jurisdiction, he has proceeded towards the capital (Lahore) with the intention of moving the *mutasaddis* of the respectable Nawab in order to obtain in his favour a *parwāna*[18] regarding the aforesaid village through deceitful representation and complaint against the holy men. However, God is the helper of truth[19] and no one has the right to interfere with the property and possessions of holy men. Indeed, according to the verse[20]... they are in possession and enjoyment (of the village), while praying for the well-being and safety of the auspicious person of the *jāgīrdār* (Yahiya Khan). (Moreover), since olden times the local principle that due consideration is given to the fact of actual possession is applicable to these dominions. On that account, the noble Sayyids,[22] the learned Qāzīs, the *chaudharīs,* the *qānūngos* and other knowledgeable persons of the abovementioned *pargana* are hereby asked to appear before the *mutasaddis* of the *jāgīrdār* for attesting to the veracity of this matter and for exposing the falsehood of the liar Har Sahai's claims by recording their evidence at the bottom of this document to refute the claims of the aforesaid disavower. On some former occasions (also) their endorsements to some legal document recorded in the court of the *chakla* of Jammu have proven his claims to be false. Even the present claim of his, which he has filed before the *mutasaddis* of the exalted (Nawab) is absolutely false and manifestly a lie. Therefore, the aforesaid false claim does not deserve any attention from the exalted (Nawab). The whole body of the *zamīndārs* of the abovementioned village, the *chaudharīs,* the *qānūngos,* the other knowledgeable persons of the said *pargana,* are well aware of the proprietary right and possessions (in the village) of the men of the abovementioned Gosain and they are happy and contented with this (situation). Har Sahai has on no account any claim or right to the abovementioned village. This is the true position.

(The following lines, an abstract of a former deed, are written diagonally at the bottom of the document so as to distinguish them from the text.)

Abstract of the *muchalka,*[23] dated the 3rd of Rajab of the year A.H. 1151 (October 6, 1738), bearing the seal of the asylum of the Holy Law, Qazi Sayyid Muinuddin, and the signatures of knowledgeable persons, and of Jagga, Mahi, Dhrub, Godar and other *chaudharīs* of *tappa*

Faridanagar in the administrative jurisdiction of the *pargana* Pathan (is) to the effect that:

We, Jagga, Mahi, Dhrub, Godar and others, are the *chaudharīs* of *tappa* Faridanagar in the administrative jurisdiction of *pargana* Pathan. Whereas, the village Ibrahimpur Saidhar, in the administrative jurisdiction of the abovementioned *pargana,* is by a bond the property of Raja Ajit Singh Jaswal.[24] Now, we solemnly declare before the *mutasaddis* of the exalted and illustrious Khan, Adina Beg Khan, that (if) any one from amongst us interferes with this village and the men of the respectable Raja, or disputes their claims of *zamīndāri,* we may be regarded as criminals before the Law and liable to fine by the State. On that account these few words have been written by way of *muchalka* to serve as a *sanad* in the future.

Attestations:

1. Witnessed by Munshi Santokh Rai: "The statement is verily true to the facts".
   (below) *seal,* affixed twice: "14. May Bhawani be the Protector. Santokh Rai".

2. Witnessed by Munshi Hakumat Rai: "The statement is verily true to the facts".
   (below) *seal,* affixed twice: "14. May Bhagwan be the Protector, Hakumat".

3. Witnessed by Munshi Bhola Nath: "The statement is verily true to the facts".
   (below) *seal*: "19. May Bhagwan be the Protector. Bhola Nath".

4. Witnessed by Nihal Chand, son of Hardayal, the *qānūngo* of *pargana* Paniyal : "The statement is

verily true to the facts".
(below) *seal*: "23. Nihal Chand".

5. Witnessed by Anandrup, the *gumāshta* of Yahīya, the *waqāi'-nigār*[25] of *Chakla* Jammu : "The statement is verily true to the facts". *Baiz.*
(below) *seal*: "1145. May Hariram be the Protector. Anandrup".

6. (in Tākri) Witnessed by Izzat.
seal, affixed twice[26]: "23. O Ram ! Protect mine honour (izzat)".

7. Witnessed by Chaudhari Narpat Singh: "The statement is verily true to the facts".
(below) *seal*: "14. Narpat Singh".

8. Witnessed by Chaudhari Muhammad Daler: "The statement is verily true to the facts".
(below) *seal*[27]: "Daler is hopeful of Muhammad's intercession".

9. (in Tākri) Witnessed by Ghazi...
(below) *seal*[28]: "17. Ghazikhan Muhammad... Khani".

10. (in Tākri) Witnessed by Nand Singh. . . .

11. Witnessed by Qanungo Ajaib Rai: "The statement is verily true to the facts". *Baiz.*
(below) *seal,* affixed twice[29]: "1053 (?). This life is a wonder (*'ajāib*)".

12. (in Tākri and Persian) Witnessed by Chaudhari Ghamandi...

13. Witnessed by Jitmal, the brother[30] of Qanungo Hardayal. *Baiz.*
(below) *seal*: "Jitmal son of Diyanat Rai".

14. Witnessed by Satwant Rai, the *gumāshta* of Raja...
(Signature in Tākri).

15. Witnessed by Dip Chand the *chaudhari* of *tappa* Awankh.[31] (Signature in Tākri).

Reverse :

Where the two pieces of paper are pasted together the term *naql-sahi*[32] appears thrice with the seal of Qazi Hidayatullah, as on the obverse.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. A part of this seal-impression is torn. However, on its comparison with the seal on Document XIII in *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar,* we are inclined to identify it as the seal of Adina Beg Khan who finds mention in the present document as probably the *faujdār* of Jammu. Adina Beg Khan rose later to be the Governor of Lahore. See, *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar,* 160, n. 1; also H. R. Gupta, *Studies in Later Mughal History,* 56-108.

2. Khwaja Abu Ziya Khan was probably the *nāib-faujdār* of Jammu. The term *Khānazād* which he appropriates for himself was not uncommon in Mughal times. See, for instance, Document XI in *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar.* The epithet signified a long association of his family with the Mughal Government.

3. Qazi Hidayat Ullah might have succeeded Qazi Muinuddin by now at Pathankot. The *āyat* on the seal is the same as on the seal on the first document in this collection.

Qazi Hidayat Ullah is performing one of the many important functions of his office. In a *sanad* of A.D. 1693, the duties of *qāzi* are: to decide disputes; to settle claims; to appease enmities; to perform the marriage ceremony (gratis for orphans); to decide disputes about inheritance; to write decrees; to instruct people in the Law and the Faith; to act as *imām* in prayers; and to investigate into extraordinary occurrences. Copies of letters, deeds of sale and copies of decrees or orders in his handwriting, or attested by his seal, were to be regarded as valid by all. He was thus expected to be a civil judge, a priest and a registrar. *Cf. The Chronicles of Oonao,* 114.

4. It is interesting to note that Khwaja Abdul Razzaq Khan's seal is more than twenty years old.

5. The Jaswal Rajputs take their name from the state of Jaswan which was an offshoot from the Katoch kingdom and was founded in the 12th century. Not much has been recorded of the history of Jaswan, but we have, in the genealogical tables of the dynasty the name of Raja Ram Singh in the fourth generation from Raja Aniruddha Chand who is mentioned as having participated in the rebellion of A.D. 1588-89 against the emperor Akbar. Hutchison & Vogel, *History of the Panjab Hill States,* I, 208-09.

Raja Ram Singh was a contemporary of Guru Gobind Singh at Anandpur, across the river Sutlej ; in the beginning of the eighteenth century the Guru was helped by the Raja at a very critical moment. See, J. S. Grewal, & S. S. Bal, *Guru Gobind Singh,* Panjab University, Chandigarh 1967, 134-35, 176.

6. The military or police power of the imperial government was represented by the *faujdār;* one of his chief duties was to aid a *jāgīrdār* or an *āmil* of the *Khālsa* against any local malcontents. It was not uncommon to give *faujdār* jurisdiction to the biggest assignees within their *jāgīrs,* though such powers seriously affected the power and prestige of the imperial *faujdār* (*The Agrarian System of Mughal India,* 295-96). See, also, J. N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration,* 54-57.

Jammu was an important *faujdāri* in the 17th and 18th centuries and its *faujdār* was supposed to deal with some of the neighbouring Hill Chiefs. See note 12, below.

7. *Chakla* is defined by Wilson as a large division of a country, comprehending a number of *parganas* (*Glossary*). As a territorial division it is first mentioned in the reign of Shah Jahan and was established probably by Sadullah Khan. The *chaklas* of Hissar and Sarhind, coincided with the *sarkārs,* but in general, a *chakla* was a smaller unit than a *sarkār,* though in Bengal, where *sarkārs* were rather small, a *chakla* consisted usually of a small number of *sarkārs.* See, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India,* 277, n. 18.

8. Once the most important of the Punjab Hill States in what was known as the Western or the Dugar group and now a part of the Jammu and Kashmir state. For a brief history of the Jammu state, see Hutchison & Vogel, *History of the Panjab Hill States,* II, 514-563. Jammu is mentioned as a *chakla* also in a Mughal document from Jakhbar. See, *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar,* Document XV. See, also, note 6 to the present document.

9. *Jāgīrdār* is defined by Wilson as the "holder of any assignment of revenue" (*Glossary*). Over a large portion of the Empire, the Mughal Emperors transferred their right to the revenue and other taxes to certain of their subjects ; and these assignees, known as *jāgīrdārs,* were usually *mansabdārs.* In fact, lands held on the same basis as *jāgīr*, but without any rank or obligation, belonged to the category of *in'ām*. The *jāgīrdārs* were entitled to collect the entire revenue due to the state ; and that embraced a variety of cesses and petty taxes. Except in the case of *al-tamghā* assignments, which were rather rare, the *jāgīrdārs* were constantly transferred after short periods. This system of periodic transfers was inconvenient to the *jāgīrdārs* and created its own complications. The *jāgīrdārs* appointed their own agents or *gumāshtas* who were liable to come into conflict with the holders of *madad-i-ma'āsh* lands. See, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, 171, 257, 260, 264-66, 167-68, 296 ; also Wilson, *Glossary*.

10. The *patta-i-istimār* refers to the deed embodying the terms of a lease on a permanent basis. *Cf.* Document IX in *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar*. The tenure was meant probably to create greater interest of the lease-holder in the land which, otherwise, was likely to suffer negligence. The financial interest of the government was secured through lenient terms given to the lease-holder. It appears that the revenue demand was fixed in advance for three years, being highest for the third year when the arrangement was made permanent. The revenue was paid in cash. See, also, *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar*, 136, n. 8.

11. This reference to Adina Beg Khan as the *Khān-i-wālā-shān* is quite complimentary. See our note 1, above.

12. The *faujdār* of Jammu appears to have two *nāib* or deputy *faujdārs* under him at this time. This would be in conformity with the importance of the *faujdāri* of Jammu. See note 6, above. *Cf.* P. Saran, *Provincial Government*, 224, 226.

13. Nawab (*nuwwāb*), the plural of *nāib* or deputy, was an epithet used for "a viceroy or governor of a province under the Mughal government, where it became a mere title of any man of high rank, upon whom it was conferred without any office being attached to it" (Wilson, *Glossary*).

In the document the term is being used for the Governor of Lahore. See note 14, below.

14. Yahiya Khan, the elder son of Zakariya Khan succeeded his father at Lahore in A.D. 1745. See note 1 to Document X.

15. The Shahpur area was once a part of the Nurpur state, but was given in grant to Bhao Singh, the younger son of Raja Jagat Singh Pathania of Nurpur, who became a Muslim in the 30th year of the reign of Aurangzeb and received from the Emperor the name of Murid Khan. Over this area between the Chakki and the Ravi the family of Murid Khan ruled for several generations. See, Hutchison & Vogel, *History of the Panjab Hill States,* I, 260. It is to this very family that Said Khan belonged, as would be indicated by the vestigial Hindu title of Raja adopted by the rulers of the Shahpur and Palahi areas. *The Gazetteer of the Gurdaspur District,* 1883-84, 18, mentions the succession of Said Khan to the Shahpur *rāj* in A.D. 1768, but this date is not likely to be correct since we have here a reference to him in the early forties of the eighteenth century. In all likelihood this Raja Said Khan is the same person as the one whose seal appears on a Mughal document from Jakhbar which relates to the grant of some land to the Jogis in *pargana* Shahpur. See, *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar,* document XVI.

16. See our note 6 to Document V. This reference to the *mahant* as *'pīr'* is interesting.

17. This bracketing of both the communities in this connection, which suggests the assumption of mutual appreciation in the matters of belief and faith, is extremely interesting.

18. In Wilson's *Glossary, parwāna* is defined as "An order, a written precept or command, a letter from a man in power to a dependant, a custom-house permit or pass, an order for the possession of an estate or an assignment of revenue ; a warrant, a license, a writ; a paper or permission from a zamindar to a cultivator to take up lands, leaving the rent to be subsequently settled". *Cf. The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar,* 70, n. 18.

19. This expression occurs in some other documents also. The assumption here of identification between moral and legal justice appears to spring more from faith than from an observation of the contemporary scene.

20. We have not been able to decipher this *āyat;* but its conjunction with the commonly used phrase *batasadolug-i-furq-i-*

mubārak" suggests that this may be the specific source of pious inspiration. *Cf. The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar,* 168, n. 6.

21. The original term used here is *mamālik-i-mahrūsa* which refers no doubt to the Mughal dominions in the context of this document.

22. The *Sayyids* (*sādāt*) were generally regarded as belonging to the most respectable sections of the Muslim population in India during the medieval period.

23. The *muchalka* is used here to denote a legal bond. See, also *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar,* 144, n. 6.

24. Son of Raja Ram Singh Jaswal. See note 5 above, and Hutchison & Vogel, *History of the Panjab Hill States,* I, 209.

25. The news-reporters formed a most important agency through which the Mughal Government kept itself informed of important happenings in the Mughal dominions and sometimes even outside the Mughal territories. One category of such news-reporters was that of the *wāqi'a-nigār* literally the writer of actual happenings. For details, see, J. N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration,* 61-64 ; also, Wilson, *Glossary*. The news-reporter of Jammu obviously had his agents, as one is mentioned in this document. *Cf.* Sri Ram Sharma, *Mughal Government And Administration,* 52-53; P. Saran, *Provincial Government,* 197-201.

26. In the inscription on this seal, there is a pun on *'izzat* (honour).

27. In the inscription on the seal, the name *daler* taken literally gives an interesting meaning to the whole inscription : "the valiant may hope for Muhammad's intercession".

28. It is interesting to find Chaudhari Ghazi, a Muslim, signing in Tākri.

29. In the inscription on this seal, again, the name (*'ajāib*: "wonders") taken literally imparts to the inscription the character of a comment on human life.

Ajaib Raj was probably the *qānūngo* who later on occupied Sujanpur and Paṭhankot. He was expelled from these towns by Amar Singh in A.D. 1781. *Gazetteer of the Gurdaspur District,* 1883-84, 14.

30. The fact that the witness likes to mention his relationship to a *qānūngo* indicates the general recognition which was in the rural society given to the *qānūngos* as an official class.

31. A very considerable village, about 6 miles in the north-western direction from Pindori. The Pindori establishment still owns considerable land and an orchard in Awankh. The *Gazetteer of the Gurdaspur district,* 1883-84, 33, mentions Awankh as one of the two places where a Mission school was first started by the Sialkot Christian Mission. The village is now generally known as 'Awankha'.

32. This document is an authenticated official copy. See note 3, above.

IX

ہو

(seal)

۱۴

سید معین الدین قاضی

خادم شرع متین

۱۱۴۴

بیان واقع است بیض (below)

اقرار معتبر صحیح شرعی کردند مخبر باسم و نسب خودہا ہریک مسمی کولا بن قلی
بن محمد مراد و مسمی شہداد بن سکھا بن نعمت اللہ و مسمی قایم بن محتشم
بن سعد اللہ و مسمی مستقیم بن محتشم بن سعد اللہ مذکور و مسمی قیاما
بن نظامی بن نوزاد و مسمی عالم بن پیرایا بن سدھاری قوم جٹ عرف سویہ
مزارعان موضع ہریرام پور سکھدیو عرف خواجہ پور عملہ پرگنہ پنیال
برین وجہ کہ الاراضی موازی چہار صد و دہ بیگہ زمین زرعی و غیر زرعی
تمام رقبہ موضع مذکور بحدود فی الذیل مواصل الحدود و علامات ظاہرات
باہمگی و تمامی و جملگی حقوق ما فیہا و ما غبہا و باتعلق بہا بمقابلہ مبلغ
پانصد و یک روپیہ سرہ رائج الوقت کہ النصف منہ تاکید الاصل
مبلغ دو صد پنجاہ نیم روپیہ موصوفہ مذکورہ می شود در سنہ پنجم عہد مبارک
مورثان مایان مقران بموجب قبالہ شرعی بدست گوسائین
سکھدیو سجادہ نشین پنڈوری بھگوان نراین فروختہ و بیع
کردہ دادہ بودند و مبلغ مذکور تمام و کمال از مشتری مذکور گرفتہ در قبض
و تصرف خودہا آوردند چنانچہ از مدت سالہا سال تا یوم تحریر گماشتہ ہائے
گوسائین مذکور بہ تعلق موضع مذکور بہ عہدہ ملکیت قابض و متصرف اند
ظاہراً قبالہ سابق کہ مورثان مایان کردہ دادہ بود بخواست از کسان
گوسائین مذکور گم شدہ درینولا مایان مقران بموجب سند خرید نامہ سابق
از سر نو برضا و رغبت خودہا خرید سابق را بر طبق شریعت غرّا جایز و روا داشتہ

باقرار خود ها نوشته دادیم که موضع مذکور در حق و ملک تمام و کمال گوسائیں
رام داس سجاده نشین گوسائین مذکور مقرر است مایان را به حقوق مالکی
موضع مذکور بیش ازین والحال دعوی و دخلی و حقی بوجه من الوجوه نیست
خدا نخواسته باشد که ثانی الحال کسے از مایان مذکوران یا از اولاد مایان با کسان
گوسائین مذکور حرف حجت گم شدن خرید نامه یا وجوه دیگر بمیان آریم
عند الشرع شریف باطل و از مسموع است بنابران این چند کلمه بطریق سند
بمنزله خرید نامه نوشته دادیم که ابراء ۶ د تبر ۱۳ ۶ تمام نوشته داده شد عند الحاجت سند معتبر گردد

حد
شرقی المتصل زمین موضع جگت پور عمله پرگنه مذکور

حد
غربی المتصل زمین موضع دهرم پور نهر دیال هر دو طرف
لب آب نهر

حد
جنوبی المتصل زمین موضع چک جوگی

حد
شمالی المتصل زمین موضع کشن پور دهیرو و موضع
مهدی پور عمله پرگنه مرقوم

(in the margin)

حلیه
کولا مذکور گندم رنگ فراخ پیشانی کشاده ابرو میش چشم
بلند بینی ریش بروت خال در هر دو نرمه گوش سوراخ
تمام قد تخمیناً ۵۷ ساله
علامت دستخط کولا (signatures in Tākri)

حلیه
شهداد مذکور گندم رنگ فراخ پیشانی کشاده
ابرو میش چشم بلند بینی ریش بروت خال
یک خال کم نما بر شقیقه جانب راست هر دو نرمه
گوش سوراخ تمام قد تخمیناً ۴۷ ساله
علامت دستخط شهداد (only a mark)

حلیہ

قایم مذکور گندم رنگ فراخ پیشانی کشادہ ابرو
میش چشم بلند بینی ریش بروت خال چند داغ
چیچک متفرقہ بر روئے در ہر دو نرمہ گوش سوراخ
در صدف گوش سوراخ جانب راست
تمام قد تخمیناً ۵۵ سالہ
علامت دستخط قایم (only a mark)

حلیہ

قیاما مذکور گندم رنگ فراخ پیشانی کشادہ ابرو
میش چشم بلند بینی ریش بروت سیاہ چند داغ
چیچک بر روئی و در یک نرمہ گوش سوراخ جانب راست
تمام قد تخمیناً ۳۵ سالہ
علامت دستخط قیاما (only a mark)

حلیہ

مستقیم مذکور گندم رنگ فراخ پیشانی کشادہ ابرو میش چشم
بلند بینی ریش بروت خال بر یک نرمہ گوش سوراخ جانب راست
تمام قد تخمیناً ۳۵ سالہ
علامت دستخط مستقیم (only a mark)

حلیہ

عالم مذکور گندم رنگ فراخ پیشانی کشادہ ابرو میش چشم
بلند بینی ریش بروت خال و یک زخم نہان شانی و یک
... بر گوشہ شقیقہ جانب چپ ہر دو نرمہ گوش سوراخ
تمام قد تخمیناً ۴۸ سالہ
علامت دستخط عالم مذکور (only a mark)

(attestations)

۱- (in Tākri) "اگاہی چودھری گھمنڈی بیعنامہ صحیح"
(seal) "۱۸ گھمنڈی رام ہرنام جیپ"
۲- گواہ شد منگت رائے قانونگوی: "بیعنامہ واقعہ است" بیض
(seal—illegible)
۳- گواہ شد عبدالرحمان قانونگوی: "بیعنامہ بیان واقعہ است" بیض
(seal) "عبدالرحمان ۱۱۵۹"
۴- گواہ شد نہال چند قانونگوی: "بیعنامہ بیان واقع است" بیض
(seal) "۳۲ نہال چند"

IX

Hū
(He is)

(*Seal*)[1]
14
Sayyid Muinuddin Qazi
ministering to the Holy Law
1144
(A.D. 1731-32)

(below) "The statement is verily true". *Baiz.*

This legal declaration, true and authentic, made on the strength of the statement of each of the following persons with his name and descent (duly recorded): Kola, son of Quli, son of Muhammad Murad; Shahdad, son of Sukha, son of Niamat Ullah; Qaim, son of Muhsham, son of Sadullah; Mustaqim, son of Muhsham, son of the said Sadullah; Qiyama, son of Nizami, son of Nura; Alam, son of Piraya, son of Sadhari; (all) of the caste Jat, sept Soya,[2] the *muzāri'*s of the village Harirampur Sukhdev *alias* Khwajapur in the (administrative) jurisdiction of the *pargana* Paniyal, (is) to the effect that:

In the fifth year of the auspicious reign, we, the deponents, as hereditary possessors (of the land in question), by the legal deed of sale had sold and handed over to Gosain Sukhdev, the occupant of the *gaddi* of the Pindori of Bhagwan-Narain, four hundred and ten *bighas* of land, (both) culturable and non-culturable, comprising the said village, with the boundaries detailed below with indications of adjoining boundaries, complete with each and every right, for the amount of rupees five hundred and one (Rs. 501) in the current coin the half of which, in confirmation of the full amount,[3] is rupees two hundred and fifty, and one-half (Rs. 250.8). This entire amount was received from the said vendee and appropriated by us to our use. Consequently, the *gumāshtas* of the said Gosain have remained in proprietary occupation of the said village for a long period of years to this day.

It appears that the earlier deed of sale which had been executed by us as hereditary possessors was by the will (of God) lost by one of the said Gosain's men.

Now, we, the deponents, holding the former sale to be valid and legal according to the Glorious Law, have of our free will drawn up and given a fresh deed of sale according with the earlier deed, so that the said village remains in the possession of Gosain Ramdas, the (present) occupant of the *gaddi* of the former Gosain (Sukhdev), with all the proprietary rights vested in him. (Further) we do not claim now, as we never did before, to have the right of ownership, or any other right whatsoever in the said village. God forbid, if at a subsequent time any one from amongst us, or from our descendants, with reference to the loss of the original deed of sale or on any other account, disputes (the possession by) any of the said Gosain's men, he (will be) false in the eyes of the Holy Law . . . . On this account these few words have been inscribed by way of a *sanad* to serve as a bill of purchase. . . .

Boundaries:

Eastern: adjoining the land of the village Jagatpur in the administrative jurisdiction of the said *pargana* (*i.e.* Paniyal).

Western: adjoining the land of the village Dharampur Hardayal[4] on both the banks of the canal.

Southern: adjoining the land of the village Chak Jogi[5] and partly adjoining the land of the village Jogi...(?) in the administrative jurisdiction of the said *pargana.*

Northern: adjoining the land of the village Kishanpur Dhiru[6] and of the village Mahdipur[7] in the administrative jurisdiction of the abovementioned *pargana.*

Descriptions :

1. The aforesaid Kola, with wheatish complexion, broad forehead, wide-set eyebrows, dark grey eyes, high nose, grey whiskers, and holes pierced in each of the earlobes. Fully grown, aged approximately fiftyseven years.
   (below) Signatures of Kola (in Tākri).

2. The aforesaid Shahdad, with wheatish complexion, broad forehead, wide-set eyebrows, dark grey eyes, high nose, grey whiskers, one faint mole on the right temple and holes pierced in each of the earlobes. Fully grown, aged approximately fortyseven years. (below) A sign, followed by the words: "The mark of Shahdad's signatures".

3. The aforesaid Qaim, with wheatish complexion, broad forehead, wide-set eyebrows, dark grey eyes, high nose, grey whiskers, a few scattered pockmarks on the face, holes pierced in each of the earlobes, and a hole in the shell of the right ear. Fully grown, aged approximately fiftyfive years.

(below) A sign, followed by the words: "The mark of Qaim's signatures".

4. The aforesaid Qiyama, with wheatish complexion, broad forehead, wide-set eyebrows, dark grey eyes, high nose, dark whiskers, a few pockmarks on the face, and a hole pierced in the right earlobe. Fully grown, aged approximately thirtyfive years.
   (below) A sign, followed by the words: "The mark of Qiyama's signatures".

5. The aforesaid Mustaqim, with wheatish complexion, broad forehead, wide-set eyebrows, dark grey eyes, high nose, grey whiskers and a hole pierced in the right earlobe. Fully grown, aged approximately fiftythree years.
   (on the right) A sign, followed by the words: "The mark of Mustaqim's signatures".

6. The aforesaid Alam, with wheatish complexion, broad forehead, wide-set eyebrows, dark grey eyes, high nose, grey whiskers, scar of a healed wound and a... on the corner of the left temple, and holes pierced in each of the earlobes. Fully grown, aged approximately fortyeight years.
   (on the left) A sign, followed by the words: "The mark of the aforesaid Alam's signatures".

Attestations:

1. (in Tākri) Witnessed by Chaudhari Ghamandi: "The *bai'nāma*[8] is verily true".
   (below) *seal*: Recite the name of Har. Ghamandi Ram. 18".

2. Witnessed by Qanungo Mangat Rai: "The *bai'nāma* is verily true". *Baiz.*
   (*below*) An illegible seal.

3. Witnessed by Qanungo Abdul Rahman: "The *bai'nāma* is verily true". *Baiz.*
   (below) *seal*: "Abdul Rahman. 1159 (R.D. 1746)".

4. Witnessed by Qanungo Nihal Chand: "The *bai'nāma* is verily true". *Baiz.*
   (below) *seal*: "Nihal Chand. 2355.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The seal of Qazi Muinuddin has already appeared on documents IV, V & VI in this collection.

2. We are certain of our reading of this word and yet neither in Ibbetson (*Panjab Castes,* 97-131) nor in the *Gazetteer of the Gurdaspur District* (1883-84, 36) does this sub-caste of Muslim Jats occur. The nearest one comes to is "Sare" in the *Gazetteer,* but we think it to be more likely that Soya must have been too minor a sub-caste to find mention in these lists.

3. It was quite a common practice to mention "the half" of the full amount involved in a transaction or deed to obviate any mistake about it. The formula appears on some other documents also in this collection.

4. We have not been able to locate and identify this village. It is mentioned as being on the "banks of the canal", but no village of this name exists at present there or in the vicinity of Khojepur.

5. There is no village of this name now in the Gurdaspur district, but it is not unlikely that it refers to the village now called "Rawal", a little over two miles to the west of Pindori. Rawal is one of the principal sects of the Jogis.

6. This, in all probability, is the village now known as Dharo Chak. The location as given in the document would indicate this, and the present name appears to have been based on the second part of the name given there.

7. Present Maihndipur, three miles west of Pindori and only half a mile due north of Khojepur.

8. *Baiʻnāma* is simply an official deed of sale. There were several terms like *baiʻbilwafā, baiʻmi'ādi, baiʻlākalāmi, baiʻmuqasa* (Wilson, *Glossary*), for the various categories of sale.

X

ل

(seal)

سنہ ۲۳
محمد حیات خان بہادر
ہزبر جنگ
فدوی پادشاہ غازی اللہ محمد شاہ
۱۱۵۴

ص (below)

خان شرافت و رفعت نشان خواجہ محمد سعید خان در حفظ الہی باشند
موضع بھگوان پور سیدھر و جیرام پور عرف جتو پور تپہ فرید نگر
عملہ پرگنہ پٹھان بموجب پٹہ مہرے بھائی صاحب و قبلہ اعز الدولہ بہادر از قدیم
تعلق زبدۃ فقرائے قوم بیراگی گوسائیں رامداس فقیر مقرر است ازانجملہ
موضع جیرام پور را بھائی صاحب بہ فقیر مذکور برائے اخراجات فقرا و
مساکین معاف نمودہ اند چنانچہ پروانہ ضمنی مجرائے زر جمع موضع مزبور
مہرے بھائی صاحب فقیر مزبور بدست دارد و موافق آن از سرکار معاف شدہ آمدہ
و معاملت موضع بھگوان پور سیدھر بموجب پٹہ قدیم انفصال می شود
ازانجا کہ مقدمہ فقرا و مراعات مشار الیہ مزبور منظور خاطر است لہذا
قلمی می گردد کہ موضع جیرام پور را بدستور سابق بطور و اختیار کسان
فقیر مزبور واگذاشتہ بعلت اخذ محصول وغیرہ بوجہ من الوجوہ
مزاحمت و تعرض نرسانند و زر جمع موضع بھگوان پور سیدھر بابت فصل ربیع توشقان ئیل

(in the margin)

از روئے پٹہ قدیم گرفتہ فارغخطی بدہند و زیادہ طلبی یک دام بمیان نیارند
و بر طبق اظہار کسان مشار الیہ لوازم غور و پرداخت بعمل آوردہ لغد نمایند کہ
احدے بہ ہیچ وجہ بدیہات متعلقہ فقیر مذکور مزاحمت و تعرض نرسانند تاکید دانند
بتاریخ غرہ ماہ جمادی الثانی سنہ ۳۰ تحریر یافت بیض

(reverse)

۱۔ ملاحظہ شد
۲۔ بتاریخ ۲ جمادی الثانی سنہ ۳۰ جلوس والا
داخل سیاہہ حضور نمودہ شد بیض
ح

X

(*Seal*)[1]

23
Muhammad Hayat, Khan Bahadur
Haziz-i-Jang, Servant of
Padshah-i-Ghazi-i-Allah
Muhammad Shah

1154
(*Sād*)

May the Khan of nobility, the august Khwaja Muhammad Said Khan,[2] remain under the protection of God !

The villages of Bhagwanpur Saidhar and Jairampur *alias* Jattopur in the *tappa* Faridnagar in the administrative jurisdiction of the *pargana* Pathan are in conferment from past times upon the venerable Gosain Ramdas, the elect among the sect of Bairagis, according to the *pattas* bearing the seals of our respected brother and of the honourable Izzuddaula Bahadur (Zakariya Khan.[3] Of these villages, Jairampur had been granted free of revenue by our respected brother[4] to the abovementioned holy recluse for the sustenance of holy men and the poor; the aforesaid holy recluse has in his possession the *parwāna* relating to the remitted revenues of the aforesaid village, bearing the seal of our respected brother, and, in accordance with that, (the village in question) has been treated as a revenue-free grant by the state. The revenue matters of the village Bhagwanpur Saidhar are governed separately in accordance with an old *patta*. Since the affairs of holy men and the concessions given to the aforesaid holy recluse find favour with us, it is on that account being ordered that the village Jairampur should be left in the possession of the men of the aforesaid holy recluse in accordance with the former practice, and no obstruction or interference be countenanced on any account whatsoever regarding the collection of dues. The letter of quittance[5] should be given to him after realizing the stipulated revenues of the village Bhagwanpur Saidhar for the *rabī'* crop of *Tawishqān-īl* according to the old *patta.* Not a single *dām*[6] should be realized in excess. You should put these matters in (proper) order after a formal scrutiny on the basis of the statements of men of the aforesaid (holy recluse), so that no one should on any account whatsoever offer any hindrance or obstruction in the villages of the abovementioned holy recluse. Know this to be an injunction.

Written on the 1st of Jamadi-us-Sani of the (regnal) year 30 (May 18, 1747). *Baiz.*

Reverse:

1. "Examined".
2. Dated the 2nd of Jamadi-us-Sani of the (regnal) year 30.
   (below) Entered in the *siyāha* of the exalted (Muhammad Hayat). *Baiz.*

Hā'i.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Muhammad Hayat of this document may be safely identified with Shah Nawaz Khan, the son of Zakariya Khan, though the name used by the historians of the Punjab for this person is "Hayatullah Khan". See the second section of the Introduction; also, note I to Document XI.

2. Muhammad Said Khan is not likely to be the Raja Muhammad Said Khan who finds mention in Document VIII. In all probability, he is the brother of Khwaja Mirza Khan who figured prominently for a short time in Lahore politics after the death of Muin-ul-Mulk, their patron. Towards the close of A.D. 1754, Khwaja Mirza Khan became *de facto* Governor of Lahore with the support of his brother Said Khan, and Bhikhari Khan. In A.D. 1759, Said Khan is known to be in Jammu and in contact with Mughlani Begum, the widow of Muin-ul-Mulk. See H. R. Gupta, *Later Mughal History of the Panjab,* 117, 122-23, 124, 148-49.

3. Zakariya Khan is not mentioned by name. That the reference here is to Zakariya Khan may be safely inferred from the use of the title *'Izzuddaulah Bahadur'*.

4. Muhammad Hayat's use of the epithet *Bhai Sahib* (respected brother) should be for Yahiya Khan. See note 1 to Document XI.

5. *Fārighkhati* is defined in Wilson's *Glossary* as "a written receipt and acquittance, a deed of release from all demands." According to Elliot's *Supplemental Glossary* (II, 157) the term was also used for a receipt given at the close of the year by the *zamīndār* to the ryot, stating that all rent demands of all sorts had been paid for that year.

In the present case, *fārighkhati* would be given by Khwaja Muhammad Said.

6. The reference to *dām* in this document is meant to indicate merely "the smallest amount".

According to Wilson *dām* was "originally a copper coin, but adopted as money of account" (*Glossary*). He also adds that in Akbar's time 40 *dāms* were reckoned to a rupee; in that of Aurangzeb, $46\frac{1}{3}$ *dām;* and still later, 80 or 90. Elliot observed that "to the common people it is known the fiftieth part of a Taka: twenty-five therefore to a paisa, and twelve and half to an adhela" (*Supplemental Glossary,* II, 81). Dr. Irfan Habib's observation on this coin is worth quoting in full: "The main copper coin was the *dām.* In Akbar's reign it gradually replaced the copper *tanka,* of which it was supposed to be half, in value. The *dām* was also known as *paisa,* while half-dam was called *adhela.* An element of confusion was introduced in the 17th century, when with the disappearance of the old *tanka* it became common to use its name for the official *dām,* and *paisa* for the old *adhela.* Moreover, owing to the rise in the silver price of copper the standard ratio of 40 *dāms* to a rupee instituted under Akbar could no longer be maintained for purposes of actual payment. Since, however, the old rate continued to be used in the accounts, notably in connection with the *jama'* figure and the calculation of salaries the *dām* of these accounts became an imaginary coin, a mere theoretical fraction of the rupee" (*The Agrarian System of Maghal India,* 331).

XI

۱

(seal)

۱۱۶۰
خان بہادر ہزبر جنگ
شاہ نواز
(on the margin)

بسم اللہ الرحمٰن الرحیم
"الٰہی تو بر نیتم آگہی۔ چو نیت بخیر است خیرم دہی"
ص (below)

قرار

پٹہ نقدی موضع بسائن گوجر عملہ پرگنہ کاٹھوہہ محال جاگیر سرکار آنکہ
چون موضع مذبور نادار مطلق بود و بدون تشخیص تیہ آباد نمی شد لہذا نظر
بر آبادی و تردد آنجا و فزونی مال سرکار داشتہ من ابتدائے فصل خریف لوی ئیل
لغایت فصل ربیع قوی ئیل واجب سہ سالہ بمقابلہ یک ہزار و یک صد روپیہ
بہمہ جہت مشخص کردہ حوالہ گماشتہ گسائیں رامداس فقیر نمودہ شدہ باید کہ بخاطر جمع
بہ تردد کشتکار پرداختہ زر مشخصہ فصل بفصل و سال بسال
داخل سرکار می نمودہ باشد انشاء اللہ تعالیٰ از قول و قرار تفاوت نخواہد شد از سال سیوم استمرار

۱۱۰۰ روپیہ

سال اول		سال دوم	
۲۵۰		۳۵۰	
خریف لوی ئیل	ربیع ایلان ئیل	خریف ایلان ئیل	ربیع یونت ئیل
۱۲۵	۱۲۵	۱۷۵	۱۷۵

سال سویم
استمرار بیض
۵۰۵ روپیہ

خریف یونت ئیل	ربیع قوی ئیل
۲۵۲	۲۵۳

بیست و نہم شہر ذوالحجہ سنہ ۳۰ قلمی شد بیض

(reverse)

۱- ص
... (signatures)
۲- مطلع شد
م
۳- موافق ارشاد بعمل آرند
۴- بتاریخ ۴ محرم سنہ ۳۰ جلوس والا نقل دفتر نیابت
۵- بتاریخ چہارم شہر محرم الحرام سنہ ۳۰ جلوس والا
نقل بدفتر دیوان رسید
۶- بتاریخ ۲ محرم الحرام سنہ ۳۰ جلوس والا
نقل سیاہہ حضور
۷- بتاریخ ۵ محرم سنہ ۳۰ جلوس والا
نقل دفتر استفسار (؟) رسید
م

XI

A(llahu-Akbar)

(God is Great)

(*Seal*)[1]
Khan Bahadur
Haziz-i-Jang
Shah Nawaz
1160

"O God! You are the Knower of my intentions,
And since they are good, grant me Your Favours".

Sād.

QARĀR[2]

Patta-i-Naqdi[3] of the village Basaun Gujjar in the administrative jurisdiction of *pargana* Kathua, in the *mahals*[4] (comprising) the *jāgīr* of the *Sarkār,*[5] to the effect that:

Whereas, the aforesaid village was absolutely desolate; and, the *tappa* was uninhabited at the time of assessment. Therefore, to encourage settlement and cultivation of that place and to increase the state revenue, the village was leased out and handed over for that purpose to the *gumāshta* of the holy Gosain Ramdas from the beginning of the *kharīf* crop of *Lūi-īl* to the end of the *rabī'* crop of *Qūi-īl* for three years in lieu of the amount of eleven hundred rupees. He should contentedly and carefully get the land cultivated and submit the stipulated revenues to the state, harvest after harvest and year after year. God willing, there will be no deviation from this commitment. (The arrangement will be treated as) *istimrār* from the third year.

Rupees 1100

The first year		The second year	
250		350	
Kharīf Lūi-īl	*Rabīʿ Īlān-īl*	*Kharīf Īlān-īl*	*Rabīʿ-Yūnt-īl*
125	125	175	175

The third year
Rupees 505 (on) *istimrār. Baiz.*

Kharīf Yūnt-īl	*Rabīʿ Qūi-īl*
252	253

Written on the 29th of Zulhijja of the (regnal) year 30 (December 21, 1747). *Baiz.*

Reverse :

1. *Sād.*

2. *"Mutlaʿ shud"* (noted).
   Mīm.

3. "Act in accordance with the order".[6]

4. Dated the 4th of Muharram of the thirtieth year of the auspicious reign; copy in the judicial office.

5. Dated the 4th of Muharram-al-hiram of the thirtieth year of the auspicious reign; copy received in the office of the Diwan. *Dāl.*

6. Dated the 2nd of Muharram of the thirtieth year of the auspicious reign; copy of the *siyāha* of the Nawab.

7. Dated the 5th of Muharram of the thirtieth year of the auspicious reign; copy received in the office of *istifsār* (?).

Mīm.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. As noted in the Introduction, both Shah Nawaz and Yahiya Khan were the sons of Qamruddin Khan's sister who was married to Zakariya Khan, but Yahiya Khan was also Qamruddin Khan's son-in-law. On Zakariya Khan's death in A.D. 1745, Qamruddin Khan had successfully espoused Yahiya Khan's candidature for the Governorship of Lahore. In November 1746, Shah Nawaz marched against Yahiya Khan and obliged him to pay Rs. 600,000. In 1747, he occupied Yahiya Khan's *jāgīrs* and then defeated him on March 27, 1747 to become the Governor of Lahore. His position was thwarted by Qamruddin Khan at Delhi and Shah Nawaz felt obliged to invite Ahmad Shah Abdali. Shah Nawaz's belated decision to oppose Ahmad Shah did not save him from an ignominious defeat; and, after the battle of Manupur in early 1748, Muin-ul-Mulk, the son of Qamruddin Khan, took charge of the Province of Lahore. Shah Nawaz Khan, not content with the Governorship of Multan, came into conflict with Muin-ul-Mulk and died on the field of battle in A.D. 1750. For some detail, see, H. R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs,* 1, 17, 18, 26, 28, 30, 32, 33, 39, 40, 41, 67, 68.

This elegant seal of Shah Nawaz contains two of his father's titles (*Khan Bahadur* and *Haziz-i-Jang*) which have appeared on the previous seal also. The omission of "Fidwi-i-Padshah-i-Ghazi-i-Allah, Muhammad Shah" from this seal is not without significance, for Shah Nawaz Khan at this time appears to have withheld his allegiance to the Mughal Emperor. The *bait* in the margin of this seal contains in it an element of irony in the light of later events.

2. *Qarār* is probably the abbreviated form of *Iqrārnāma,* which would make the document simply "a deed of assent or acknowledgement in general". It is obvious, however, that it is a *patta-i-istimrār.* See, note 3 below; *Cf.* Wilson, *Glossary.*

3. Since the stipulated revenue is to be paid in cash (*naqd*) the bond is being designated as *patta-i-naqdi* which would make it a synonym for *patta-i-istimrār.* It is evident from Document XVI, that this kind of revenue could be paid in two instalments *Cf.* P. Saran, *Provincial Government,* 313-16.

4. *Mahāl* appears to refer here broadly to the areas in Shah Nawaz's *jāgīr.* The territorial *mahal* generally coincided with the

pargana. For some detail, see, *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar,* 66-67, n. 7, & 64, n. 4.

5. *Sarkār* seems to refer here to the Government and not to the territorial unit called *sarkār.*

6. The document appears to have gone through the formal procedure within a single week. It was entered in the ledgers of receipt on the 2nd of Muharram and a copy reached the office of the *diwan* as well as the deputy on the 4th; and some other office, on the day following. Then it was duly received by the official who was actually to act upon this order.

XII

۱

(seal)

سنہ احد
معین الدین خان معین الملک
اقتدار الدولہ بہادر دلیر (؟) جنگ
فدوی پادشاہ احمد شاہ بہادر غازی

ص

عاملان حال و استقبال پرگنہ پٹھان محال جاگیر بھائی صاحب میر یحیی خان بہادر بدانند
بوضوح پیوست کہ موضع جیرام پور عرف جٹو پورہ بھگوان پور سیدھر جاگیر مزبور
بموجب پٹہ و پروانہ مہر بھائی صاحب مشار الیہ از قدیم در تعلق زبدۃ فقرائے قوم بیراگی
گوسائیں رامداس درویش مقرر و از کل تکالیف معاف شدہ آمدہ
چون اعانت احوال فقرا منظور است لہٰذا قلمی میگردد کہ دیہات مزبور را
بدستور قدیم بطور و اختیار گوسائیں واگذاشتہ بموجب پٹہ قدیم
معاملت میکردہ باشند زیادہ طلبی بوجہی بمیان نیارند تا موصی الیہ بخاطر جمع
حاصلات آنرا صرف فقرا و مساکین نمودہ بدعائے بقائے دولت ابد مدت
اشتغال داشتہ باشد درین باب تاکید دانند

بیست دیکم ربیع الثانی سنہ احد قلمی شد بیض

(reverse)
۱۔ ملاحظہ شد
۲۔ نقل کردہ شد بیض

د

XII

A(llahu-Akbar)

(God is Great)

(*Seal*)[1]
The First regnal year

Muinuddin Khan Muin-ul-Mulk
Iqtidaruddaulah Bahadur,
Daler-i-Jang, Servant of the
Emperor Ahmad Shah Bahadur Ghazi

Sād

Be it known to the present and the future *āmils* of *pargana* Pathan (which is) in the *Jāgīr-mahals* of Bhaī Sahib, Mīr Yahiya Khan Bahadur, that:

It has been made known to us that the villages Jairampur *alias* Jattopur and Bhagwanpur Saidhar in the aforesaid *jāgīr* have since long been in conferment as a revenue-free grant upon the elect among the sect of the Bairagis, the holy Gosain Ramdas, in accordance with official documents bearing the seal of the said Bhai Sahib.[2] Now, the patronage of holy men finds favour with us. It is therefore being ordered that the aforesaid villages should, as of old, remain in the care and possession of the (said) Gosain, and the revenue matters (of the said villages) should be governed in accordance with the old *patta*. On no account should any demand be made in excess so that the aforesaid (Gosain) may remain occupied with praying for the permanence of the Eternal Dominion while contentedly expending the proceeds from these villages upon the holy and the poor. In this matter know this to be an injunction.[3]

Written on the 21st of Rabi-us-Sani of the first (regnal) year (March 30, 1749). *Baiz.*

Reverse:

"Examined !"
"Copy has been made". *Dāl.*

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Muinuddin Khan, the son of Qamruddin Khan, had defeated Ahmad Shah Abdali in the battle of Manupur and become the Governor of Lahore in April 1748. Also known as Mir Mannu, he is reckoned among the most powerful Mughal Governors of Lahore. He died in A.D. 1753, after a hectic activity of over four years. For some detail, see H. R. Gupta, *A History of the Sikhs,* I, 43, 44, 57, 59, 90, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 71, 74, 75, 76, 82, 83, 84.

In this seal of Muinuddin Khan, two of his titles are clear : *Muin-ul-Mulk* and *Iqtidar-ud-Daulah.* His third title is not clear in this seal, but on Document XIII, it is *Daler-i-Jang.* It is quite likely, therefore, that on this seal also it is *Daler-i-Jang,* though it could also be *Haziz-i-Jang.*

2. In Document VIII also it is implied that Pathankot formed at one time a part of the *jāgīr* of Yahiya Khan. Muin-ul-Mulk's father's sister was Yahiya Khan's mother; and his own sister was Yahiya Khan's wife; therefore, the epithet of *Bhai-Sahib* is being used by Muin-ul-Mulk for Yahiya Khan. See, also, note 1 to Document XI.

3. This expression of a favourable sentiment in favour of assistance to holy men in general, including the *mahants* of Pindori and their disciples, is worth noting. Similar phrases occur in some of the other documents also.

XIII

وَلا تکتُمُوا الشَّهَادَةَ وَمَن یَکتُمهَا فَانّهُ آثِمٌ قلبُهُ

(seal)

اقتدار الدوله معین الملک میر معین الدین خان بهادر دلیر جنگ　　مرید محیّ الدین خان
۱۱۵۷

(above) صورتِ حال بیان واقعه است

باعث تحریر این سطور آنکه موضع گجوباؤن معموله پرگنه کاٹھوہه تپه کتهلور تعلق ملکیت
زرخرید معارف آگاه گسائیں رامداس سجاده نشین مکان پنڈوری بھگوان نارائن مقرر و همیشه
در قبض و تصرف مالکانه گسائیں مزبور شده می آید و گاهے در حدود حدود رقبه موضع مزبور
تفاوت نبوده و احدے مناقشه نکرده دو سال است که زمینداران موضع دلیرپور نتهو عمله
پرگنه پٹھان که متصل واقع است از راه شرارت با حد موضع مزبور مناقشه ناحق و بے موجب برپا نموده بودند
چنانچه قبل ازین در عمل لاله منسارام نایب خان والاشان بلندمکان آدینه بیگ خان فوجدار چکله جموں
مقدمه حدود به اتفاق عمله و فعله و منصفی منصفان منفصل شده بود و صورت حال انفصال آن
بمهر شریعت پناه و شهادت چودهریان و قانونگویان و مردم معتبر هر دو پرگنه مرقوم گردیده بود بعد دو سال
بعض زمینداران موضع دلیرپور نتهو مذکور بر سر خشت آمده باز طرح خرخشه انداختند چون این ماجرا
به جناب بندگان امارت و ایالت مرتبت حشمت و نساکت منزلت ناظم صوبه پنجاب معروض شد
درین باب پروانه عالی بنام خان رفعت و عوالی نشان قلندر بیگ خان نایب فوجدار و عمال حال و
استقبال هر دو پرگنه مذکور صادر شد که در انفصال حدود و احقاق قسمی احتیاط بکار برند که
بر احد الطرفین هرگز حیف و میل نرود و بعد احقاق رضانامه معارف آگاه مزبور در حضور
ارسال دارند بعد صدور پروانه خان معز الیه عمله و فعله هر دو پرگنه را روبرو طلبیده و
به جهت احقاق حق قسم داده از جانب خود دیوان کرم نارائن را و جیتو چودهری و ٹھاکر داس
گماشته مهر سنگه چودهریان پرگنه کاٹھوہه و جهجمل گماشته محمد غازی و خضر چودهریان پرگنه پٹھان را
فرستاد که حدود مقبوضه قدیم از روئے راستی و نفس الامر برآورده بدهند که من بعد مناقشه
اصلاً برپا نگردد دیوان مزبور عمله و فعله و اهالی و موالی بر سر رقبه زمین هر دو موضع رسیده
به اتفاق یکدیگر خدا را حاضر دانسته در احقاق و انفصال احتیاط و جزرسی
موفور نموده پیمان حدود منفصله سابقه را که بلا تفاوت بود برآورده مقرر و مسلّم کرده
دادند و مناقشه طرفین رفع ساختند و قول و عهد و قرار داد در میان آمد که طرفین
بر حدود منفصله قایم و ثابت باشند و اصلاً تفاوت و تجاوز نه نمایند چنانچه حدود رقبه

موضع مذکور بموجب سابق به تفصیل ذیل ارقام یافته

حد

شرقی المتصل بزمین موضع دلیرپور نهتو و بعض بزمین موضع اورنگ پور مراد عمله پرگنه پٹهان و بعض بزمین موضع کنڈی عمله پرگنه کاٹهوهه متصل گذر دریای راوی

حد

غربی المتصل بزمین موضع پنڈی ملهت پور عمله پرگنه پنیال

حد

جنوبی المتصل بزمین موضع مقایم پور رکوال و بعض بزمین موضع راجپور محمد عمله پرگنه پنیال

حد

شمالی المتصل بلب دریای راوی

پس هر کرا بر صحت این حال و صدق این مقال خبر و اطلاع باشد شهادت خود دراو مطابق ... گرفته در ذیل این تذکره ثبت نماید که عندالله ماجور و عندالناس مشکور بود صورت حال برین منوال است

تحریر فی التاریخ بیست و پنجم شهر جمادی الاول سنه ۳ جلوس میمنت مانوس

(attestations)

۱۔ گواه شد کرم نراین : " صورت حال بیان واقعه است "

(seal) " کرم نراین احد "

۲۔ (in Takri) " اگاهی چهجو گماشته چودهری گاجی کهان "

(below) علامت دستخط چهجمل گماشته غازی خان چودهری

۳۔ گواه شد جیٹه مل گواه طرف عدالت

(below) " جیٹه مل ستگور سهاے "

۴۔ (in Tākri) " اگاهی کهجر کهان "

(above) علامت دستخط خضر خان زمیندار چهله

۵۔ (in Tākri) " لکهت جیتو : صرت حال صحیح "

(below) علامت دستخط جیتو چودهری پرگنه کاٹهوهه

(seal) " ۳ جیتو بهوانی سهاے "

۶۔ گواه شد محمد بازید زمیندار موضع چهله پرگنه پٹهان : " صورت حال بیان واقعه است "

XIII

A(llahu-Akbar)
(God is Great)

Iqtidaruddaula,[1] Muin-ul-Mulk,
Mir Muinuddin
Khan Bahadur Daler-i-Jang.

(Seal)[2]
Murid Muhiyuddin Khan
1157
(above) "The statement is verily true to the facts".

The purport of the following lines is that:

The village Gajju Basaun in *tappa* Kathlaur, in the administrative jurisdiction of *pargana* Kathua, has been, through purchase, the property of the knower of subtleties, Gosain Ramdas, the *sajjāda-nishīn* of the establishment of the Pindori of Bhagwan-Narain, and has always been in the possession and proprietary use of the aforesaid Gosain. Never had there been any disagreement regarding the boundaries of the aforesaid area; nor had any one raised a dispute. Two years ago, (however), the *zamīndārs* of the adjoining village Dalerpur Nathu,[3] in the administrative jurisdiction of *pargana* Pathan, had, out of mischief, raised false and baseless dispute regarding the boundary of the aforesaid village. Upon that, then, the boundary dispute had been settled with the help of the functionaries and through the award of the *munsifs*[4] during the time of Lala Mansa Ram, the deputy of the lofty Khan of the elevated status, Adina Beg Khan, the *faujdār* of the *chakla* of Jammu. That decision had been committed to writing under the seal of the asylum of the Holy Law and the attestation of *chaudharīs,* the *qānūngos* and other trustworthy persons of both the *parganas.*

Now, after two years, some of the *zamīndārs* of the abovementioned village, Dalerpur Nathu, by conduct verging on violence, have renewed the dispute. Then this matter was submitted to the lord of his men, the powerful and the dignified, and of the grand and the pious station, Iqtidaruddaula, Muin-ul-Mulk, Mir Muinuddin Khan Bahadur, Daler-i-Jang, the *nāzim*[5] of the *ṣūba* of Punjab. Thereupon, an exalted *parwāna* addressed to the Khan of the dignified and lofty status, Qalandar Beg Khan, the *nāib-faujdār,* and to the present and the future *āmils* of both the abovementioned *parganas* was issued to the effect that they should employ every care in the just settlement and determination of the boundaries so that no fear or favour is shown to either of the parties. (Further) they should despatch to the exalted (Iqtidaruddaula) the written consent of the aforesaid knower of subtleties to the settlement (arrived at). After the issuance of the *parwāna* the honourable Khan summoned the functionaries of both the *parganas* to his presence and asked them to give a just finding on oath; and (he) personally despatched Diwan Karam Narain, Jitu Chaudhari and Thakurdas, the *gumāshta* of Mihar Singh—the *chaudharīs* of *pargana,* Kathua, and Chhajmal, the *gumāshta* of Muhammad Ghazi, and Khizr—the *chaudharīs of pargana* Pathan, so that they should ascertain the old boundaries on the basis of truth and personal evidence and demarcate them in order absolutely to obviate the recurrence of any dispute in the future. The aforesaid Diwan went to the (disputed) area of the two villages along with the functionaries and the local inhabitants and, with their unanimous consent and deeming God to be present, demarcated and confirmed the former undisputed boundaries with extreme care and after a thorough investigation. He thus resolved the dispute between the parties; and solemn agreements were drawn up between them so that they should faithfully adhere to the settled boundaries and make no deviations therefrom. Consequently, the old boundaries of the abovementioned village are detailed below:

Boundaries :

Eastern : adjoining the land of the village Dalerpur Nathu and partly (adjoining) the land of the village Aurangpur Murad,[6] (both the villages being) in the administrative jurisdiction of *pargana* Pathan; and partly (adjoining) the land of the village Kandi[7] in the administrative jurisdiction of *pargana* Kathua, close to the course of the river Ravi.

Western : adjoining the land of the village Pindi Malhatpur[8] in the administrative jurisdiction of *pargana* Paniyal.

Southern : adjoining the land of the village Maqaimpur Rakwal[9] (?) and partly (adjoining) the village Rajpur Muhammad.[10] (both) in the administrative jurisdiction of *pargana* Paniyal.

Northern : adjoining the bank of the river Ravi.

Therefore whosoever is aware of the truth of this matter and the veracity of this statement should affix his signa-

tures on this document in the name of God, for "it rests with God to reward and with man to be grateful".
This is the true position.

Written on the 25th of Jamadi-ul-awwal of the third year of the auspicious reign (April 21, 1750).

Attestations:

1. Witnessed by Karam Narain : "The statement is verily true to the facts".
   (below) *seal :* "Karam Narain, The first (year)".

2. (in Tākri) Witnessed by Chhaju, the *gumāshta* of Chaudhari Ghazi Khan.
   (below) "The mark of the signatures of Chhajmal, the *gumāshta* of Chaudhari Ghazi Khan".

3. Witnessed by Jethmal, attesting on behalf of the court.
   (below) *seal :* "May the true Guru be the Protector. Jethmal".

4. (in Tākri) Witnessed by Khizr Khan : "The statement is true to the facts".
   (above) The mark of the signatures of Khizr Khan, the *zamīndār* of Chela[11] (?)".

5. (in Tākri) Signed by Jitu. "The statement is true".
   (below) "The mark of the signatures of Jitu, the *chaudharī* of *pargana* Kathua".
   seal : "3. May Bhawani be the Protector. Jitu".

6. Witnessed by Muhammad Bazid, the *zamīndār* of the village Chehla in *pargana* Pathan : "The statement is verily true to the facts".

7. (in Tākri) Signed by Mihr Singh. "The statement is true".
   (below) : "The mark of the signatures of Mihr Singh, the *chaudhari* of *tappa* Kathlaur".

8. (in Tākri) Witnessed my Harcharan, the *chaudharī* of Awankh.
   (above) : "The mark of the signatures of Harcharan, resident of Awankh".

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. There are many Mughal documents in which the name of the Emperor or the Prince is placed at the top as a mark of respect and some space is left blank in the text to indicate the place at which it should be read. In Document X in this collection, *Ilāhi* (God) is taken out from the first line in this manner.
In this document, Muin-ul-Mulk, the Governor of Lahore, is being treated in the same way.

2. The use of the term *murīd* (literally, disciple) was not uncommon in the seals of the Mughal officials. It was used probably to denote loyalty and fidelity on the part of the official.
We have not been able to identify Muhiyuddin Khan of this seal.

3. There exists no village of this name in the neighbourhood of Gajju or Kathlaur now. There is, however, an uninhabited village, Dalelpur, to the east of Gajju which is likely to have been meant here.

4. The word *munsif* was ordinarily used for "a decider of what is just, an arbitrator". In some places it was also used for an officer employed by the *zamīndār* to "superintend the measurement of lands of village in concert with the villagers" (Wilson, *Glossary*).
In the present document, its use in conjunction with the word *munsifi* (equity, justice) suggests that it is used in its ordinary sense.

5. *Nāzim,* according to Wilson's *Glossary,* was "an arranger, an administrator, a governor, a viceroy, a superior officer or governor of a province charged with the administration of criminal law and the police".
In the present document, it refers to the Provincial Governor, Muin-ul-Mulk himself. It is therefore synonymous with *"ṣūbadār"*.

6. This, in all probability, is the village now called Naurangpur to the east of Gajju. The corruption of "Aurang" into "Naurang" takes place often, and several times in folk stories and literature, "Aurangzeb" becomes "Naurang Shah". The village Naurangpur is now uninhabited.

7. No village of this name exists now in the neighbourhood of Gajju. It is likely to have been claimed by the Ravi, situated as it was on the bank of this river.

8. No village of this name exists now in the Pathankot *tahsīl,* but it is likely that our reading of this word is not accurate. There is a village called Makhanpur to the west of Gajju and that might well have been meant here.

9. The village is now known only as Rakwal and is, as indicated in the document, immediately in the south of Gajju.

10. This refers probably to the village now called Rajpur Rajputan which is close to the village Gajju in the southern direction.

11. This is probably the same as the village now called Chela Chak in the Pathankot *tahsīl,* sixteen miles south-west of Pathankot.

XIV

۱

منکه خدابخش ولد محمد جمیل قوم شیخ ساکن قصبه رائپور ام
که اراضی موازی پانزده ۱۵ بیگه زمین مدد معاش زرعی و غیر زرعی ملکیت مقبوضه موروثه خود واقع موضع رسولپور علی
عمله پرگنه بنیال منجمله اراضی موازی چهل بیگه مقبوضه جمیع شرکا و در تحت و تصرف بنده بود درینولا
بالمواجه چودهریان و قانونگویان و مقدمان و مالکان و رعایا بمقابله مبلغ پانزده روپیه سره رائج الوقت چیده تمام الوزن
النصف منه مبلغ هفت روپیه و هشت آنه موصوفه می شود بدست فیض الله گماشته گوسائیں بشنداس بطریق بیع وفا فروختم
و مبلغ مذکور از تسلیم مشتری مذکور گرفته در قبض و تصرف خود آوردم دامی و درمی منجمله قیمت اراضی مذکوره نزد
مشتری مذکور نماند و مشتری مذکور قبول نموده مبیعه مذکوره را بحضور ارباب کار چند کلمه بطریق بیع وفا نوشته داده شد
که ثانی الحال موجب سند باشد

تحریر فی التاریخ نهم شهر محرم الحرام سنه ۲ جلوس والا

(in the margin)

العبد
خدابخش ولد محمد جمیل آیمه دار موضع رسولپور علی: "آنچه در متن است قبول دارم" بیض

۱۔ گواه شد هرسهائے چودهری باقرار خدابخش بیض
"هرسهائے ستگورسهائے" (seal)
۲۔ گواه شد انند شنکر چودهری ...
۳۔ گواه شد محمد فیض قانونگوی بیض
۴۔ گواه شد بهوانی داس قانونگوی باقرار خدابخش بیض
۵۔ گواه شد پرمیشری داس قانونگوی بیض

XIV

A(llahu Akbar)

(God is Great)

I (the writer of this declaration), Khuda Bakhsh, son of Muhammad Jamil, of the *Shaikh* caste,[1] am the resident of *qaṣba* Raipur[2] (?). Fifteen *bighas* of culturable and non-culturable *madad-i-ma'āsh*[3] land, situated in the village Rasulpur Ali in the administrative jurisdiction of *pargana* Paniyal, have been in my use and occupation as hereditary property, together with a total of forty *bighas* of land which I own as a co-sharer. Now, I have given (all this property) by a sale transaction, on which are affixed the seals (and signatures) of *chaudharīs, qānūngos, muqaddams,* proprietors and others, to Faizullah, the *gumāshta* of Gosain Bishandas, for the amount of fifteen rupees[4] (Rs. 15) in current coin, the half of which is seven rupees and eight annas (Rs. 7-8). I have received and put to my own use the abovementioned amount from the vendee with his approval. Not a single *dām* out of the price of the said land remains due from the vendee who is satisfied (with this arrangement). Regarding the sold property, these few words have been written as a sale-deed in the presence of the officials, so that they serve as a *sanad* in the future.

Written on the 9th of Muharram-al-hiram of the regnal year 2.

"The slave" (that is, the mark of the signatures of), Jamil, the *ā'immadār*[5] of the village Rasulpur Ali : "I accept all that is written herein". *Baiz.*

Attestations :

1. Witnessed by Chaudhari Har Sahai, on the affirmation of Khuda Bakhsh. *Baiz.*
   (below) *seal :* "May the true Guru be the Protector. Har Sahai . . .".

2. Witnessed by Chaudhari Anand Shankar, on the affirmation of Khuda Bakhsh. *Baiz.*

3. Witnessed by Qanungo Muhammad Faiz. *Baiz.*

4. Witnessed by Bhawani Das, on the affirmation of Khuda Bakhsh. *Baiz.*

5. Witnessed by Qanungo Parmeshari Das. *Baiz.*

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The use of the word *qaum* (now equated with 'nation') in connection with the various categories of people is extremely interesting. It is applied to the Shaikhs here. In some other documents it is applied to Rajputs, Brahmins, Jats and Gujjars. The term "caste" is not synonymous with *qaum* but comes very near to it in the context of the times. Perhaps the term *qaum* was used for any social group or category of people that appeared to be meaningful in social terms.

2. There are several Raipurs in the district Gurdaspur, but considering that in the document Raipur is mentioned as a *qaṣba,* we believe that the large village of this name which is 12 miles south-west of Pathankot is referred to here. *The Village Directory of Gurdaspur,* 1958, gives the population of the village as 1,162; the other two Raipurs in the Batala *tahsīl* are very tiny, with a population of only about 200 persons.

3. *Madad-i-ma'āsh* was synonymous with *ā'imma.*
A comparison with Documents VI and XVII suggests that the Shaikh held some pieces of *madad-i-ma'āsh* land in a village which for the most part belonged to the *mahants.* It is interesting to note that Shaikh Khuda Bakhsh is selling his *madad-i-ma'āsh* land to the *gumāshta* of Gosain Bishandas. The *gumāshta* himself (Faiz Ullah) is a Muslim.

4. The price of one *bigha* would be less than a rupee !

5. The *madad-i-ma'āsh* or *ā'imma* land had long since come to be treated as a hereditary property and the holders of such land would naturally refer to themselves as *ā'immadārs, i.e.* the possessors of revenue-free land.

XV

هو

باعث تحریر این سطور آنکه موضع جگت پور لالا سینی معموله پرگنه پٹهان دوآبه باری
مضاف صوبه پنجاب دار السلطنت لاهور آنکه چون موازی سه صد گهماؤں
رقبه جنگلی و تمامی موضع مسطور به تعلق پنڈوری مکان (گوسائیں بهگوان ناراین)
مکرر (sic) بوده چنانچه معاملت موضع مذکور همیشه بحکام انفصال می یافت
وحکام وقت به فقرائے مذکور درخور حال مراعات می کردند و قدرے غلّه
که از زمین پیدا می شد به خرچ فقرائی باب المصرف می شد اندرین ضمن بخواست الهی
از طغیانی باران سیل دریائے راوی که موضع مزبور برلب دریائے واقع است
درایام فصل خریف ایت عیل به موضع مزبور افتاده ازانجمله موازی دوصد وشصت گهماؤں زمین
در رقبه موضع مسطور دریائے برد گردیده چهل گهماؤں کسری کم زیاده باقی مانده
آن نیز روز بروز دریائے می برد و در فصل ربیع موضع مسطور کم تردد ماند
چون بخواست الهی احدے را چاره نیست چنانچه این مقدمه به دیهات قرب وجوار
وجود دهریان وقانونگویان و هالی موالی اظهر من الشمس ... (torn) است
وازورود آب سیل دریائے پریشانی رعایا موضع مسطور رویداده و مردم رعایا
جابجا متفرق شده رفتند چنانچه کیفیت وقوع این معنی به لاله صاحب دلارام متصدی دیهه مزبور
گوسائیں بشن داس سجاده نشین پنڈوری مفصل نگاشته که این جانب به سبب دریائے برد
رقبه موضع مسطور دیهه را ازفصل ربیع گذاشته واستعفا کرده که ازانجا به سبب آب سیل
چیزے حاصل نمی شود چنانچه لاله معزالیهه متصدی دیهه مسطور به امانت پناه نگاهی مل
گماشته خود نوشته فرستاد که آنچه رضامندی گوسائیں معزالیهه وآبادی دیهه باشد
بعمل آرند وپٹه موافق زمین باقی مانده بمهر خود کرده بدهند نوشته لاله مسطور به امانت پناه
مذکور رسانید امانت پناه مذکور اقرار نمود که بر رقبه موضع مسطور در رسیده موافق
زمین باقی مانده پٹه کم قرار کرده بدهم بالفعل که زمین باقی مانده رعایا را
باسخنان وتسلی به تردد باید پرداخت که دیهه نادار مطلق نماند درین اثنا
چوهڑمل متصدی مختار کار وغیره حال ازطرف لاله صاحب دلارام جیو به مختار
کاری درینجا رسید نگاهی مل گماشته گوسائین معزالیهه حقیقت موضع مذکور من وعن به لاله چوهڑمل
ظاهر ساختند که درویشان موضع مسطور ... (torn)
درین صورت دیهه ویران ونادار مطلق می افتد چنانچه لاله ... (torn)
برحالت ویرانی آنجا بنظر نموده رسالت کرده که زمین باقی مانده را تردد ... (torn)

وعرضی بمهر چوہڑمل به لاله صاحب دلارام نوشته دادند که عرضی ما رسانیده پٹه کم قرار را بمهر لاله دلارام
از ابتدائے فصل ربیع تنگوزئیل سرنقد مزین کنانیده بیارند معاملت آنجا از روئے پٹه مجدد بعمل خواهد آمد
چون درام حسابی و رضامندی درویشان که همه کس را جائے ادب مقدم و ضروری است چنانچه عرضی
چوہڑمل بجنسه نوشته گوسائیں معزالیهه نزد لاله صاحب دلارام جیو مرسول داشته چون خدا
یار حق است آنچه واجبی باشد پٹه از ابتدائے فصل ربیع تنگوزئیل سرنقد موافق زمین باقی مانده کرده بدهند
بنابران سادات عظام و قضات اهل اسلام هالی و موالی ارباب پرگنه مذکور ادائے شهادت می خواهند
هرکرا بر صحت این حال و صدق این مقال آگهی و اطلاع باشد گواهی خود را در ذیل این تذکره ثبت نماید
عندالله ماجور و عندالناس مشکور خواهد شد صورت حال برین منوال است

(attestations)

۱۔ گواه شد محمد غازی چودهری: "صورت حال بیان واقع است" بیض
(seal) "۵ غازی ازان شدم که غلام محمدام"
۲۔ گواه شد محمد زربخش چودهری "صورت حال بیان واقعه است" بیض
(seal) "۷ جان فدا زربخش کرد از راه دین احمدی"
۳۔ گواه شد پرمیشری داس قانونگوی پرگنه پٹهان: "صورت حال بیان واقع است"
(seal) "۴ پرمیشری داس هرکی آس"
۴۔ گواهی ڈهیرو دسنتا چودهریان بهویه خاص
(in Takri) اگاهی ڈهیرو تهقاسنتا چودهری بهوئے دے
۵۔ گواه شد هرسهائے چودهری: "صورت حال بیان واقع است" بیض
(seal) "۲۹ هرسهائے ستگور سهائے"
۶۔ گواه شد بهادر خان چودهری ... بیض: "صورت حال بیان واقع است" بیض
(seal) " ... دین محمد بهادر است"
۷۔ گواه شد محمد فیض قانونگوی پرگنه پنیال: "صورت حال بیان واقع است" بیض
۸۔ گواه شد بهوانی داس پرگنه پنیال "صورت حال بیان واقع است" بیض

XV

Hū

(He is)

The purport of the following lines is that :

The village Jagatpur Lala Saini[1] (?) is in the administrative jurisdiction of *pargana* Pathan in the Bari Doab of the *ṣūba* of Panjab with its capital at Lahore. Whereas, three hundred *ghumāons* of land comprising the entire area of the said village, were in conferment upon the establishment (of Gosain Bhagwan-Narain) at Pindori, and the revenue of the abovementioned village used to be regularly submitted to the *hākims*.[2] The *hākims* of the time used to give such concessions as were appropriate to the circumstance of the abovementioned holy recluses; and whatever grain was grown in the land used to be expended on the holy men, in the name of God. Now, the abovementioned village which is situated on the bank of the river became, by the will of God, inundated by the flood waters of the river Ravi because of the excessive rains during the time of the *kharīf* crop of *Īt-īl*. Two hundred and sixty *ghumāons* out of the total area of the said village were submerged under water and only about forty *ghumāons* of land were left. Those too were, day by day, being claimed by the river. Thus, in the season of the *rabī'* crop little of cultivation was done in the said village, for no one can withstand the will of God. These matters are manifest as the sun itself to the villages in the neighbourhood, the *chaudharīs*, the *qānūngo*, and all and sundry. The advance of the river waters became the cause of suffering and anxiety for the cultivators[3] of the said village and they severally went away to other places. Consequently, Gosain Bishandas, the *sajjāda-nishīn* of Pindori, wrote in detail about these occurrences to Lala Sahib Dila Ram, the *mutasaddi*[4] of the aforesaid village, and submitted that the said village may be exempted for the *rabī'* crop on account of the submergence of its land under the river waters and because nothing could be grown there due to flood waters. Upon this, the respected Lala, the *mutasaddi* of the said village, wrote to his *gumāshta*, Nigahi Mal, the asylum of security, to the effect that he should act in the interest of the respected Gosain, keeping in view (the end) that the village should remain peopled and he should issue a *patta* with his own seal for the unaffected land. The missive of the said Lala reached the abovementioned asylum of security. On reaching the land of the said village, the abovementioned asylum of security held out that he would issue a *patta* for unaffected land, reducing the revenue demand, provided that the unaffected land was brought under cultivation by persuading and reassuring the cultivators so that the village did not become completely desolate. In the meantime Chuhar Mal, the *mutasaddi* and the *mukhtār-i-kār*[5] etc. reached the place of *mukhtārkāri* on behalf of Lala Sahib Dila Ram Jio. Nigahi Mal and the *gumāshta* of the respected Gosain revealed the precise state of affairs of the abovementioned village to Lala Chuhar Mal, saying that the holy men of the said village... (torn)... Under these circumstances the village would remain uncultivated and become completely desolate. Accordingly, Lala... (torn), seeing the desolation of the place, also took the view that the unaffected land (should be) cultivated. They wrote a petition with the seal of Chuhar Mal and addressed to Lala Sahib Dila Ram, requesting its transmission so that they could obtain a *patta* with the seal of Lala Dila Ram reducing the demand, laying down the cash due for a three-year period beginning from the *rabī'* crop of *Tungūz-īl,* and requesting that the revenue matters of that place may thus be governed by the new *patta.* Since in such matters the satisfaction of the holy recluses, to whom every one should show reverence, is necessary, the representation of Chuhar Mal... alongwith the petition of the respected Gosain, was sent to Lala Sahib Dila Ram Jio, requesting that, as God is the Helper of truth, a three-year *patta* for the unaffected land with effect from the beginning of the *rabī'* crop of *Tungūz-īl* may be issued on lenient terms. On that account, all those among the respectable persons and the *qāzis* of Islam and all and sundry of the abovementioned *pargana,* who may be inclined to give their evidence and may be aware of the truth of the matter and the veracity of the statement, should append their signatures to this document, for "it rests with God to reward and with man to be grateful".

This is the true position.

Attestations :

1. Witnessed by Chaudhari Muhammad Ghazi: "The statement is verily true to the facts". *Baiz.*
   (below) *seal*[6]: "5. A *ghāzi* I became through being the slave of Muhammad".

2. Witnessed by Chaudhari Muhammad Zar Bakhsh: "The statement is verily true to the facts". *Baiz.*
   (below) *seal*[7]: "7. His life was laid down by Zar Bakhsh in the path of the faith".

3. Witnessed by Parmeshari Das, the *qānūngo* of *pargana* Pathan: "The statement is verily true to the facts".

(below) *seal*[8] : "4. Hopeful of (the favours of) Har. Parmeshari Das".

4. (in *Tākri*) Witnessed by Dheru and Basanta (?), the *chaudharīs* of Bhota.[9]
(above, in Persian) (The mark of the) signatures of Dheru and Basanta (?), the *chaudharīs* of Bhoa Proper.

5. Witnessed by Chaudhari Har Sahai: "The statement is verily true to the facts". *Baiz.*
(below) *seal*[10] : "26 (A.D. 1743-44). May the True Guru be the Protector. Har Sahai".

6. Witnessed by Bahadur Khan, the *chaudhari* of. . . . "The statement is verily true to the facts". *Baiz.*
(below) *seal*[11] : "Bahadur is... of the Faith".

7. Witnessed by Muhammad Faiz, the *qānūngo* of *pargana* Paniyal : "The statement is verily true to the facts". *Baiz.*

8. Witnessed by Bhawani Das of *pargana* Paniyal : "The statement is verily true to the facts". *Baīz.*

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. No village of this name exists now. It is likely that the village was claimed by the river, situated as it was on the bank of the Ravi.

2. Though the term *hākim* was used sometimes for the provincial governor, the *hukkām* of this document refers in a general way to the government officials. *Cf. The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar,* 63, n. 11.

3. In Wilson's *Glossary,* the term *riāyā* is defined as a "favoured tenant or cultivator, one to whom remission or abatement has been granted". Dr. Irfan Habib equates *riāyā* with the peasantry (*The Agrarian System of Mughal India,* 115, 235, n. 31). The "peasants" on the land in question were not its proprietors. Therefore they may be taken simply as "cultivators".

4. This general reference to Dila Ram as the *mutasaddi* of the said village does not indicate his exact official position. He is certainly not of the same category as Chuhar Mal of this document who also is called a *mutasaddi* as well as the *mukhtār-i-kār* on behalf of Dila Ram. *Cf. The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar,* 135, n. 4. Dila Ram of this document may be the one mentioned as a person of note at Lahore in A.D. 1746 in H. R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs,* I, 27 n. [illegible].

5. The term *mukhtār-i-kār* appears to have been used here in the sense of "an agent, a representative" and not as "an attorney". *Cf.* Wilson, *Glossary.*

6. The sentiment and wit expressed in the inscription of this seal is quite interesting to note, for there is a pun on *ghāzi* and a contrast between *ghāzi* and *ghulām.*

7. What has been said about the inscription of the seal above is true also of the inscription of this seal. The bestower of gold (*zarbakhsh*) holds the faith of Muhammad dearer than his own life.

8. The inscription of this seal appears to have been chosen partly because *dās* (slave) rhymes with *ās* (hope).

9. A large village situated now in the *bet* of the river Ravi, eight miles to the west of Pathankot. It is an important village and is cited as the original place of the Jogi establishment which is now at Jakhbar. See, *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar*, 68.

10. The use of the invocation *satgur sahai* by a non-Sikh is quite significant to note. We have another instance in this collection of the use of this invocation on a posthumous seal of Maharaja Sher Singh. See, note 1 to Document XLVIII.

11. We have not been able to decipher the whole of the inscription on this seal. It is clear, however, that it belongs to the category of notes 6 & 7, above.

XVI

۱

انشاالله تعالی از قول قرار تفاوت نخواهد شد بیض

قرار
پٹه استمرار موضع جگت پور لالا سینی عمله پرگنه پٹهان
محال جاگیر نواب بهکهاری خان آنکه
چون موضع مذکور با اراضی ۳ سه صد گهماؤن سابق بمقابله
مبلغ چهار صد روپیه سال تمام پٹه استمرار بنام گوسائین
پنڈوری بهگوان نارایـن جیو مقرر بود درینولا از روئے
صورت حال به شهادت عمله و فعله پرگنه مسطور وغیر ذالک
معلوم شد که زمین موضع مزبور اکثرے بدریاے راوی
فرو رفته ازین معنی دیهه ویران و نادار افتاده بنابران
نظر بر کفایت مال سرکار و آبادی دیهه نموده ابتدائے فصل خریف تنگوزئیل ۲ سنه
بمقابله مبلغ دوصد ۲۷ هفتاد روپیه سال تمام استمرار مشخص کرده
نصف ۱۳۵

حواله گوسائین بشن داس جیو نموده شده باید که بخاطر جمع
تردد کشتکار کنانیده مبلغ مشخصه را فصل بفصل سال بسال
داخل فوطه خانه سرکار می نموده باشند انشاالله تعالی ازین قرارداد تفاوت
و تجاوز نخواهد شد

۲۷۰ (روپیه)

خریف	ربیع
۱۷۰	۱۰۰ روپیه

تحریر فی التاریخ پنجم ۵ شهر ذوالحجه ۲ سنه جلوس والا

XVI

A(llahu-Akbar)

(God is Great)

(Seal)[1]
4
Gur Sahai

"The Almighty God willing,
there will be no deviation
from this commitment". *Baiz.*

IQRĀR

The *patta-i-istimrār* of the village Jagatpur Lala Sainī, in the administrative jurisdiction of *pargana* Pathan, (which is) in the *jāgīr-mahals* of Nawab Bhikhari Khan,[2] to the effect that :

Whereas, the abovementioned village consisting of three hundred *ghumāons* of land was formerly in the name of the Gosain of Pindori of Bhagwan-Narain Jio for the annual amount of four hundred rupees by the *patta-i-istimrār*. Now, the position as understood through the evidence of the functionaries of the said *pargana,* and of others, is that much of the land of the aforesaid village has been submerged under the river Ravi; consequently the village has become desolate and poor. On that account, keeping in view both the consideration of state-revenues and the continuance of cultivation in the village, it has been handed over to Gosain Bishandas Jio with effect from the beginning of the *kharīf* crop of *Tungūz-īl* of the second (regnal) year for the annual amount of two hundred and seventy rupees, the half of which is rupees one hundred and thirtyfive, in *istimrār*. Thus reassured, he should get the land cultivated and deposit the fixed amount in the treasury[3] of the State, harvest after harvest and year after year. The Almighty God willing, there will be no deviation from, or transgression of, this undertaking.

270 (rupees)

Kharīf	*Rabī‘*
170 (rupees)	100 (rupees)

Written on the 5th of Zul-hijja of the auspicious regnal year 2 (September 12, 1755).

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Gur Sahai of this seal, though it has the literal meaning of "May the Guru be the Protector", is a proper name. He is the authority issuing this *iqrārnāma,* but his exact position cannot be determined.

The use of the Muslim formula "God-willing" (*inshā' Allah*) and of *alif* (*Allahu Akbar*) in this document, which does not relate to a Muslim, is very interesting.

2. Bhikhari Khan, surnamed *Raushan-ud-Daulah Rustam-i-Jang,* was a Turkish general patronized by Muin-ul-Mulk at Lahore. In January 1754, he revolted against Muin-ul-Mulk's widow, the well-known Mughlani Begum, in a bid for the Governorship of Lahore. But the Begum succeeded in putting him under confinement. The Golden Mosque of Lahore was got constructed by Bhikhari Khan. For some more detail, see, H. R. Gupta, *Later Mughal History of the Panjab,* 80, 81, 113, 116-17, & n. 3, 125.

At this time, he was holding Pathankot in *jāgīr* and the use of the title 'Nawab' for him indicates his prominent position at Lahore.

3. *Fotakhāna* refers here to the Government Treasury, though it has also the meaning of "a banking-house, a money-charger shop" (Wilson, *Glossary*). See also P. Saran, *Provincial Government,* 289-90.

It may be mentioned, incidentally, that Potdar, which is now used in Maharashtra as a surname, was originally the same thing as *fotadār* or "the keeper of the bags of money".

XVII

۱

(seal)

۴
قطب الدین بن سید معین الدین قاضی
ایاک العبد و ایاک نستعین
خادم شرع خاتم النبین
۱۱۶۴

مایانکه شیخ چهجو و معزالدین پسران شیخ محمد واصل آیمه داران
موضع رسولپور علی عمله پرگنه پنیال ایم
چون مبلغ چهل ۴۹ و نه روپیه که النصف منه مبلغ بیست و چهار روپیه
و هشت آنه می شود از نزد گوسائین . گرفته ایم
و آیمه خود را که واقع موضع مذکور است بطریق گروی گذاشته ایم
باقرار آنکه اگر در عرصه ۳ سه سال ادائی مبلغ مذکور نمائیم
آیمه خود را اخلاص کرده بگیریم و اگر بر وعده مبلغ نرسانیم
از اراضی آیمه خود دست بردار شویم پس نخواهد ماند
مایان مقران را با آیمه مذکور بوجه من الوجوه دعوی و دخلے
بنابران این چند کلمه بطریق قبض الوصول و گروی نامه نوشته دادیم
(in the margin) که ثانی الحال موجب (سند) شرعی گردد
تحریراً فی التاریخ بیست و هفتم شهر جمادی الثانی سنه ۱۰

العبد
شیخ شیخ (sic) چهجو: "آنچه در متن است قبول دارم"

(attestations)

۱- گواه شد نجم الدین نژاد شیخ فیض باقرار چهجو و معزالدین بیض
۲- گواه شد بهوانی داس قانونگوی باقرار چهجو و معزالدین بیض
۳- گواه شد هر سهائے چودهری باقرار شیخ چهجو بیض
(seal) "۲۶ هر سهائے سنگو رسهائے"
۴- گواه شد رام چند قانونگوی باقرار شیخ چهجو پسر محمد واصل آیمه دار موضع رسولپور علی بیض

XVII

A(llahu-Akbar)
(God is Great)

(Seal)[1]

4
Qutbuddin bin
Sayyid Muinuddin
Qazi, administering to
the Law of the last
of the Prophets
1164

We (the deponents), Shaikh Chhajju and Muizuddin, sons of Shaikh Muhammad Wasil, are the *ā'immadārs*[2] of the village Rasulpur Ali in the administrative jurisdiction of *pargana* Paniyal. Whereas, we have received the amount of fortynine rupees (Rs. 49), the half of which is twentyfour rupees and eight annas (Rs. 24-8-0), from the Gosain (of Pindori) and have in return pledged to him in mortgage our *ā'imma* land in the abovementioned village on the terms that if we pay back the said amount within a period of three years, we will get back the possession of our *ā'imma* land; and if the amount is not paid back as promised, we shall relinquish all claims to our land. Therefore, in the future, we, the deponents, will not claim any rights to, or interfere with, the abovementioned *ā'imma* on any account whatsoever. On this account, these few words are committed to writing by way of cash-receipt and mortgage-deed so that this may serve as a legal (*sanad*) in the future.

Written on the 27th of Jamadi-us-Sani of the (regnal) year 10 (October 28, 1769).

"The slave" (that is, the mark of the signatures of), Shaikh Chhajju: "I accept all that is written herein".

Attestations :

1. Witnessed by Najmuddin, son of Shaikh Faiz, on the affirmation of Chhajju and Muizuddin. *Baiz.*

2. Witnessed by Qanungo Bhawani Das on the affirmation of Chhajju and Muizuddin. *Baiz.*

3. Witnessed by Chaudhari Har Sahai on the affirmation of Shaikh Chhajju. *Baiz.*
   (below) *seal*: "May the True Guru be the Protector. Har Sahai".

4. Witnessed by Qanungo Ram Chand on the affirmation of Shaikh Chhajju, son of Muhammad Wasil, the *ā'immadār* of the village Rasulpur. *Baiz.*

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. "The office of the *qāzi* was not considered hereditary. It was generally held for life." But the son of the deceased *qāzi* had "a prior claim over any one else to succeed him" and, though instances can be found of *qāzis* losing their office in their lifetime, the office was generally occupied on the basis of hereditary claims. *The Chronicles of Oonao,* 115.

Qazi Qutbuddin of this seal may be the son of Qazi Muinuddin whose seal appears on some of the documents in this collection.

2. See our note 3 to Document XIII.

XVIII

(in Gurmukhi) صحیح

او

(seal)

اکال سہائے
حکومت سنگہ
۱۸۰۹

عاملان حال باستقبال (sic) و زمینداران قصبه کانوبان (sic) مسرور باشند
آنچه منڈی و زمین بابا سرون ناتھ جی والہ
در مالکیت (sic) و تحت مہنتان سری پنڈوری
بھگوان نرائن جی به قرار قدیم عمل
بادشاہان است لازم است که
حالا بدستور سابقه مالکیت (sic) و معامله زمین مذکوره
در تسرف (sic) مہنتان داشته باشند درین باب تاکید شناسند

(in the margin)

تحریر بتاریخ ۱۵ ماه بیساکھ سمت ۱۸۰۹
مرقومه در مقام قصبه کانوبان (sic)

XVIII

O(*nkār*)[2]

(in Gurmukhi)
"SAHI"[1]

(*Seal*)[3]
May the Immortal (God)
be the Protector

Hukumat Singh
1809

To the present and the future *āmils* and *zamīndārs* of *qaṣba* Kahnuwan, may they remain in peace and happiness ! Since the *mandi*[4] and the land of the respectable Baba Sarwan Nath Ji[5] is in the lawful possession of the *mahants*[6] of Sri Pindori of Bhagwan-Narain Ji in accordance with the established practice of (the Mughal) emperors, it is incumbent (upon the abovementioned *āmils* and *zamīndārs*) that now (as before) they should treat the proceeds and proprietorship of the abovementioned land as belonging to the *mahants* in accordance with the former practice. They should know this to be an injunction.

Written on the 15th of Baisakh, Saṁvat 1809[7] (April 17, 1752).

Inscribed[8] at *qaṣba* Kahnuwan.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. *Sahi* on this document is the counterpart of *Sād* on the Mughal documents. It should have been put there by Hukumat Singh who has issued this order. One *sardar* named Hukumat Singh is mentioned by Browne as commanding 1500 horse and 500 foot around A.D. 1770. H. R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs,* II, 23.

2. On the top of the document are two letters : *alif* and *wau.* They are the counterpart of *alif* (*Allahu Akbar*) on some of the Mughal documents. At any rate, they serve as the *sarnāma* and stand in all probability for *Onkār.*

3. This is the seal of a Sikh Chief, as is clear from the invocation *Akāl Sahāi.* The use of the Persian script is extremely interesting. In the figures for the date on this seal, zero is missing; but the other figures are clear. At the end of the document, again, zero is missing but the space left between eight and nine suggests that the missing figure is zero. Furthermore, in Document XX, the date is clearly given as *Saṁvat* 1812. Therefore the date on this seal cannot be but 1809.

4. The reference probably is to a market place in the *qaṣba* Kahnuwan. Presumably, a market had been developed on a piece of land granted to Baba Sarwan Nath.

5. There is a Jogi establishment at Kahnuwan which is cited as having been closely connected with Bhagwanji, the founder of the Pindori *gaddi,* in his early years. Baba Sarwan Nath is said to have belonged to this establishment and was probably the recipient of the same grant, a part of which passed on to the Pindori establishment.

6. The head of a monastic establishment is generally referred to as a *mahant* regardless of the religious denomination of the establishment. The earlier occupants of the Pindori *gaddi* mentioned in the preceding documents, were also *mahants,* but the word is not used in the Mughal document here. In this, the first of our documents belonging to the period of a Sikh Chief, we have the use of this term widely known among the Hindus and the Sikhs.

7. As already pointed out (note 2, above), the spacing of the figure 189 suggests that the *Saṁvat* here is 1809.

8. It is interesting to find mention of the place from which the order is being issued. This is true of nearly all Sikh documents in this collection. The present order was issued at Kahnuwan itself. Hukumat Singh was present there, with his subordinates to help him.

XIX

(in Gurmukhi) صحیح

1

(seal)
اکال سہائے
حکومت سنگه
١٨٠٩

عاملان حال و استقبال پرگنه کاهنووان بدانند
آنکه موازی هژده ۱۸ گهماؤں اراضی در کاهنووان خاص
نصف ۹

متصل سری گفاجی به صیغه دهرم ارته بقرار
قدیم الایام از عمل پادشاهان سری بهگوان
نارائن پنڈوری واله جی معاف و مرفوع القلم
است باید که زمین مذکور را حالا بدستور سابق واگذار
دارند احدے کس تکالیف و مزاحم نباشد
درین باب تاکید مزید دانسته حسب المسطور بعمل آرند

تفصیل (in the margin)

همراه باولی جی	همراه چاه
۹ گهماؤں	۹ گهماؤں

تحریر بتاریخ پنجم ماه ماگه سمت ١٨١٢
پروانگی خاص بوقف قصبه کاهنووان

XIX

"SAHI"
(in Gurmukhi)

O(*nkār*)

(*Seal*)
May the Immortal (God)
be the Protector

Hukumat Singh
1809

Be it known to the present and the future *āmils* of *pargana* Kahnuwan that : eighteen *ghumāons* (the half of which is nine *ghumāons*) of land in Kahnuwan proper, adjoining the Sacred Cave,[1] are in conferment upon, and (therefore) free of fiscal demands, upon (the *mahants*) of the Pindori of Sri Bhagwan-Narain by way of *dharmarth*[2] from the olden times of (the Mughal) emperors. It is incumbent (upon the *āmils*) that now (as before) they should treat the abovementioned land as free from fiscal demands in accordance with the former practice. None should hinder or interfere (in this matter). They should know this to be an important injunction and should act according to the (instructions contained in these) lines.

Detail :

adjacent to the bāoli[3]	*adjacent to the well*
9 *ghumāons*	9 *ghumāons*

Written on the 5th of Magh, Saṁvat 1812 (January 17, 1755).

Special order (issued during) the halt at Kahnuwan.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. There is a subterranean cave on an eminence on the outskirts of the Kahnuwan town. This is associated with Bhagwanji who is said to have performed worship and austerities here, and it is held sacred by the people of the town to this day. A Vaishnava Bairagi lives close to the cave and looks after it.

2. *Dharmarth* of the Sikh documents is the counterpart of the *madad-i-ma'āsh* or *ā'imma* of the Mughal documents. In both the cases, revenues due to the Government went to the grantee. In the present document some of the older terms are used in their usual sense : *marfū'-ul-qalm, wāguzār* for instance.

3. A cistern. This too still exists in Kahnuwan and is held to be sacred probably because of its association with Bhagwanji.

XX

اد

(in Gurmukhi) صحیح

(seal)

اکال سہائیٔ
(in Gurmukhi) گورا سنگه

عاملان حال باستقبال (sic) قصبه کالنوبان (sic) بدانند
چون آنکه منڈی وزمین بابا سرون ناتھ جی واله
درمالکیت (sic) مہنتان سری پنڈوری بھگوان
نراین جی بقرار قدیم الایام درتحت وتسرف (sic) است
لازم است که حالا بدستور سابقه مالکیت (sic) ومعامله
زمین مذکوره را داشته باشند
درین باب تاکید مجید (sic) شناسند

(in the margin) تحریر بتاریخ ۷ ماه پھاگن سمت ۱۸
پروانگی وزبان خود۔

XX

"SAHI"
(in Gurmukhi)

O(nkār)

(*Seal*)[1]
May the Immortal (God)
be the Protector

Gaura Singh

Be it known to the present and the future *āmils* of *qaṣba* Kahnuwan that :

Whereas, the *mandi* and the land of the revered Baba Sarwan Nath Ji are in the lawful possession of the *mahants* of Sri Pindori of Bhagwan-Narainji from olden times. It is incumbent (upon the *āmils*) that now (as before) they should leave the proceeds and proprietorship of the above-mentioned land (intact with the *mahants*) in accordance with the former practice. They should know this to be an important injunction.

Written on the 17th of Phagun, Saṁvat 182 (March 22, 1761).

Written (according to the) verbal order.[3]

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The name on this seal is not absolutely clear, but appears to be Gaura Singh.

Some of the words in this document are wrongly spelt : *tasarruf* with *sīn, mazīd* with *jīm,* for instance. This happens in the case of a few other documents also. Perhaps the scribes were new to their job and did not possess a thorough command over Persian.

2. This stands here, almost certainly, for Saṁvat 1818, only the years of the nineteenth Vikrami century having been mentioned, much as the year 1968 is shortened only to "68" in common usage and parlance. The only other possibility is that the year 18 here refers to a different era, like the Shastra era in which the century is again not indicated, but that is used commonly in the hills and it is unlikely to have been employed in this area; in any case we have no other evidence for it.

3. The place at which this order was issued is not mentioned. Perhaps Gaura Singh had given the order verbally at Kahnuwan itself first and then sent the written order from some other place.

XXI

صحیح (in Gurmukhi)

او

(seal)

(in Gurmukhi) اکال سهاے
گوراسنگه

عاملان حال باستقبال (sic) قصبه کانوبان (sic) بدانند
چون منڈی و زمین باباسرون ناتھ جی والهه در
مالکیت و تحت مهنتان سری پنڈوری بھگوان نرائن جی
بقرار قدیمی عمل پادشاهان است لازم است که حالا
بدستور قدیم الهه (sic) ایام مالکیت و معامله زمین مذکوره
در تصرف (sic) و تحت مهنتان داشته باشند درین باب تاکید شناسند

(in the margin)

تحریر بتاریخ ۱۸ ماه چیت سمت ۱۸۲۵
پروانگی خاص حسب الیه (sic) مسطور بعمل آرند

XXI

"SAHI"
(in Gurmukhi)

O(*nkār*)

(*Seal*)
May the Immortal (God)
be the Protector

Gaura Singh

Be it known to the present and the future *āmils* of *qaṣba* Kahnuwan that: Whereas, the *mandi* and the land of the revered Baba Sarwan Nath Ji are in the lawful possession of the *mahants* of Sri Pindori of Bhagwan-Narain Ji in accordance with the established practice of (the Mughals). It is incumbent (upon the *āmils*) that now (as before) they should leave the proceeds and proprietorship of the abovementioned land in the use and possession of the *mahants*. In this matter, they should know this to be an injunction.

Written on the 18th of Chet, Saṁvat 1825 (April 5, 1768).

A special order : "they should act strictly in accordance with the (instruction contained in these) lines".

XXII

1

(seal)
صاحب سنگه
۱۸۲۹

یاد داشت

۴۲ (کنال)

آنکه در رینوالا موازی پنج گهماؤں و دو کنال زمین ابتدائے
فصل ربیع سمت ۱۸۳۸ از موضع عمرپور سادات بمصر موہن لعل پسر مصر
جسونت رائے بابت پُون سادھان بھائی دیوا سنگه جیو
داده شد ہر کس که در عمل خالصه جیو درانجا حکومت سازد
زمین مذکور در سال تمام به مصر مذکور مجرامی داده باشد، ہیچ
عذر بمیان نیارد بنابران این چند کلمه بطریق پٹه
نوشته داده شد که احدے تفاوت نسازند

<ins></ins>**تفصیل زمین** (in the margin)

خریف	ربیع
۲۱ (کنال)	۲۱ (کنال)

تحریر پروشٹ اوّل بیساکھ سمت ۱۸۳۸

XXII

O(nkār)

(*Seal*)[1]
Sahib Singh
1829

Yād-dāsht to the effect that five *ghumāons* and two *kanāls*[2] of land (42 *kanāls*) in the village Umarpur Sadat[3] have been given to Misr Mohan Lal, son of Misr Jaswant Rai, from the beginning of the *rabī‘* crop of Saṁvat 1838 by Bhai Deva Singh Jio, as charity to holy men.[4] Whosoever administers that place under the government of the Khalsa Jio should confirm the abovementioned land upon the aforesaid Misr for the whole year and should not raise any objection. On that account these few words have been written to be given by way of a *patta* to obviate interference from any quarter.

Detail of the land :

kharīf	*rabī‘*
21 (*kanāls*)	21 (*kanāls*)

Written on the 1st of Baisakh, Saṁvat 1938 (April 24, 1781).

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. From the evidence of this document itself, Sahib Singh cannot be identified with absolute certainty. Apart from Sahib Singh Bhangi, two *sardars* of this period are known : Sahib Singh of Sialkot, whose territory yielded an annual income of about nine lakhs of rupees and Sahib Singh Randhawa, who possessed thirty villages, near Batala. The latter is most likely to be the person who issued this *patta-i-yād-dāsht*. See, H. R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs,* III, 51; and the *Chiefs and Families of Note,* I, 541.

2. *Kanāl* as a unit-area is mentioned in this document for the first time in the collection and it is obvious that eight *kanāls* make a *ghumāon* in this case. Two *kanāls* made one *bigha*. Both the *kanāl* and the *ghumāon* were probably frequently used in this part of the Punjab at this time as measures of land.

3. There are two villages of this name, Umarpur Kalan and Umarpur Khurd, adjacent to each other and at a distance of about ten miles, north-west, from Pindori. One of these probably bore the name "Umarpur Sadat" earlier.

4. The word used in the text is *sādh* which can be generally rendered as a man of God, a holy man. "*Sādh* is properly nothing more than the Hindu equivalent of the Musalman word *Pir;* or rather *Sādh* applies only to a Hindu devotee, while *Pir* includes any Mohammedan holy man". Denzil Ibbetson, *Panjab Castes,* 227.

XXIII

۱

صحیح (in Gurmukhi)

یادداشت آنکہ

موضع لاہڑی گوسائین آنروے آب دریائے راوی
از ابتدائے عمل خالصہ جیو سمت ۱۸۳۰ وجہ دھرم
ارتھ نصفی بھیٹ مہنت پنڈوری و نصفی نبھیٹ
بابا صاحب بڈبھاگ سنگہ جیو نمودہ شدہ است
بفضل ستگورو جیو درین قرار و دھرم خالصہ جیو
تفاوت نیست و نخواہد شد بنابران
این چند سطور بطریق پٹہ دھرم ارتھ
نوشتہ دادہ کہ ثانی الحال موجب
سند گردد تحریر شد بموجب یادداشت خود

(in the margin) وگر منظور نباشد
از زمینداران گرد و نواح آنروئے
آب و این روئے آب گواہی پرسیدہ
... سازند و گواہی از ہمہ زمینداران
آن روئے آب و این روئے آب تالغایت (؟)
کانونگویان (sic) پٹھانکوٹ بپرسند

XXIII

"SAHI"
(in Gurmukhi)

O(nkār)

Yād-dāsht[1] to the effect that the village Lahri Gosain,[2] across the river Ravi, has been in conferment as *bhet,* by way of *dharmarth,* in equal parts upon the *mahants* of Pindori and Baba Sahib Badbhag Singh[3] Jio since the beginning of the rule of the Khalsa Jio[4] in Saṁvat 1830 (A.D. 1773). Through the grace of the True Guru there is no deviation from the (earlier) commitment made by the Khalsa Jio, and there will be none.[5] On that account these few lines have been written by way of a *patta* of *dharmarth* henceforth to serve as a *sanad.*

Written on the basis of personal memory.[6]

(*In the margin*)

If this is not acceptable, the neighbouring *zamīndārs* on both sides of the river (Ravi) should be called upon to give their evidence to be recorded and, after the evidence of the *zamīndārs* on both sides of the river has been obtained, the *qānūngos* of Pathankot should be approached for confirmation.[7]

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. In Wilson's *Glossary, yād-dāsht* is defined as "a memorandum, a memorial, a position, a certificate". In this document, the old position regarding the grant in question is certified by the issuing authority. *Cf.* Document XIII in *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar;* see, also, note 3 to that document. The identification of *yād-dāsht* with the *patta* of *dharmarth* in some of the Sikh documents in the present collection has been noted in section three of the Introduction.

2. This village is probably the same as the one now called Lahri Mahantan, in the Pathankot *tahsīl.* It lies about 14 miles north of Pindori.

3. Baba Sahib Badbhag Singh of this document may be Sodhi Badbhag Singh of Kartarpur or, perhaps, the saint of this name whose *dera* in the Hoshiarpur district is well-known.

4. The term *Khalsa Jio* definitely refers to the individual issuing this order. It is important to note that the term does not refer to the *Khalsa Panth.* We have underlined the significance of this difference in section two of the Introduction.

5. The wording here suggests a *"commitment"* given by the Chief. The use of the phrase *dharm-i-Khalsa Jio* would indeed make it his moral (though not strictly a legal) obligation to honour his commitment.

6. The word *yād-dāsht,* though it can refer to a written document, appears to bear here its ordinary connotation of "memory". Either no written order on this point had been issued previously or it was not available at the time of writing the present *Yād-dāsht.*

7. We have not been able to decipher a few words of the text in the margin of the original. But, we hope, the import is clear enough

XXIV

(The first letter of Gurmukhi followed by)

صحیح

اُو

(seal)

اکال سہائے
جے سنگھ
١٨٠٧

. . .

وغیرہ سادھان
مہنت صاحب ترن تارن دوجہان مہنت صاحب جیو
بعد ادای آداب و فتح واہگوروجی کی قبول باد
درین جائے سکھ و سکھ اند آن صاحبان از دربار سری اکال پورکھ جی
لازم مطلوب است صورت این است کہ تمام سادھان
وغیرہ زمیندار دیہات خود ونفریدیہہ ٹھاکر دوارہ
ہرچہ باشد غور مشار الیہہ دیہہ آن صاحبان است
کہ کسے وسواس در دل نمی آرند این حال ہیچ دانستہ نیست
کہ بفضل ستگوروجی تفاوت نیست کہ تمام
(in the margin) سادھان وغیرہ
نفریدیہہ کہ درین جائے باشد غور خواہد
کنانید دیہہ آن صاحب است تاکید نمایند (؟)
. . . دیہات مذکور واگذار کنانیدہ دادہ اند
آنچہ دیہات آن صاحبان است
کہ خواہد گرفت تاکید نمایند (؟)

چہارم / سیدانہ و چہارم / سیدہر ——— مہاراج پورہ ——— جنڈوال وغیرہ دیہات

XXIV

"SAHI"
(in Gurmukhi)

O(nkār)

(Seal)[1]
May the Immortal (God)
be the Protector
Jai Singh

May the redeemer of the two worlds, Mahant Sahib Jio and the other *sādhus* remain under Divine protection !

Please accept our respects and the greeting : "Victory to Wahguru".[2] Here all is well and to the Court of the Immortal Being we pray for the peace and happiness of your reverence. The purpose (of this epistle) is (to affirm) that all the holy men and *zamīndārs* of your villages and all those who belong to the endowment of the *thākurdwārā,* benefit from being attached to your reverence. No one should entertain any doubts in his mind (on this point). Few have known this truth that by the grace of the True Guru, there is no discrimination. All the holy men and others who may belong to the established endowment at your place will benefit from your reverence. The aforesaid villages which are free from revenue demands belong rightly to your reverence.

The following are the villages which may be retained by your reverence.

¼ Sayyidana.[3]
¼ Saidar.
Maharajpura.
Jattowal, and other villages.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The seal impressions are not clear. But there is no doubt that these are impressions of the seal used on the next document.

2. *"Wahguru Ji Ka Khalsa, Wahguru Ji Ki Fateh"* was probably the most common form of salutation among the *Khalsa* of Guru Gobind Singh. The *"Fateh Wahguru Ji Ki"* of this document would not be unexpected from Jai Singh. The literal meaning of this salutation will be "Victory belongs to the venerable Guru".

3. A small village three miles north-east of Pindori.

XXV

(seal)

اکال سہاے
جے سنگه
۱۸۰۷

عاملان حال و استقبال وگذربانان عبورهائے دریائے بیاس بدانند
چون درینوقت در وجه دهرم ارته مهاراج کیشو داس جی را از سرکار
معلی ارقام نموده شد که آنکه غله هائے از جاگیرات مواضعات
آنزوی آب می آید کسے احدے هیچ وجه حیل وحجت محصول بمیان
نیاورده باشد . . . محصولات دامنگیر و متعرض نشوند و آنچه
اشیائے چیزے پیدائش زمین جاگیر وغیره ساهدان (sic)
سری پنڈوری که می آورده باشند هرگز کسے کلفت محصول

(in the margin) نکرده باشد اندریں باب
تاکید مزید شناسند
حسب المسطور لعمل آرند

تحریر بتاریخ اول ماه بیساکه سمت ۱۸۴۵ زبانی مبارک خاص
دایره دولت مقام پنڈوری

XXV

(*Seal*)[1]
May the Immortal (God)
be the Protector

Jai Singh
1807 (?)

Be it known to the present and the future *āmils* and to those in charge of the ferries[2] on the river Beas that : An order of the exalted *Sarkār* is now being issued by way of *dharmarth* in favour of Maharaj Kesho Das to the effect that no one on any account whatsoever should think of imposing any transit-duty on the grains brought from the villages of (Kesho Das's) *jāgīrs*[3] on the other side of the river. They should not insist upon duty. The other articles of agrarian produce from the *jāgīr* or anything else which the holy men of Pindori might bring for transit, should not suffer the imposition of duty. In this matter, they should know this to be an important injunction, and act strictly in accordance with the (instructions contained in these) lines.

Written on the 1st of Baisakh, Saṁvat 1845 (May 6, 1788).

The auspicious verbal order, at Pindori, within the circle of the august dominion.[4]

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. This is a seal of Jai Singh Kanhaiya, the well-known Sikh Chief who gave his name to a *misl,* established his suzerainty over some of the Hill Chiefs and was eminent amongst the most powerful Sikh Chiefs of the late eighteenth century. For some detail of his career, see, H. R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs,* I, 51-52, 95, 99, 127; III, 3-4, 22, 23, 25, 26-27, 34-35, 36-37, 38-39, 39-40, 41, 43, 44; and *Chiefs and Families of Note,* I, 380-81; II, 20-21, 39. The date on this seal is 1807 (A.D. 1750). It thus embodies his claims to rule at a very early date.

2. There is a clear implication here that transit-duty was generally levied at the ferries by the *guzarbāns.* It is not clear, however, whether or not the *guzarbān* was an official appointed by the rulers. The other possibility is that the professional *guzarbāns* were allowed to levy this duty and they paid something to the Government annually. In that case the rulers would reserve their right to exempt the goods of certain persons from this duty.

3. The term *jāgīrs* appears to refer here to the revenue-free lands of the *mahants* of Pindori.

4. There are several epithets appropriated by the Sikh rulers for themselves which were formerly used by the Mughal Emperors. The use of the term *daulat* for the dominion of Jai Singh Kanhaiya is one example. In this very document his Government is referred to as the *Sarkār-i-Mu'allā.*

XXVI

1

(in Gurmukhi) صحیح

(seal)

اکال سہائی
(in Gurmukhi) گوربخش سنگہ

ملکھی و بالا وغیرہ زمینداران پچیان بدانند
باید کہ آنچہ غلہ آیمہ مہنت سری پنڈوری جیو
از سرکار معاف و واگذار اند حالا ہم
بدستور قدیم حوالہ ایشان می باشد درین
مقدمہ توقف بمیان نیارند غلہ ایمہ
مذکور بدستور قدیم حوالہ کسان مہنت جیو

(in the margin)

کردہ بدہند و بابت
باقیات گذشتہ ہم نشان
غلہ کردہ بدہند درین باب تاکید دانند
توقف نسازند

پروانگی خاص بحضور ڈیرہ سوجان پور نوشتہ شدہ

XXVI

"SAHI"
(in Gurmukhi)

O(nkār)[1]

(*Seal*)
May the Immortal (God)
be the Protector.

Gurbakhsh Singh

Be it known to Milkhi and Bala and the other *zamīndārs*[2] of Chichiyan[3] that the produce of the *ā'imma*[4] of the *mahant* of Pindori, which has been a revenue-free grant from the Government, is to remain now (as before) in his possession according to the old practice. They should not overlook this matter and should hand over to the men of the venerable *mahant* the produce of the aforesaid *ā'imma* according to the former practice. They should also calculate all the arrears[5] and give them (to the *mahant's* men). In this matter, they should know this to be an injunction and should not delay this matter any further.

This special order was written in (Gurbakhsh Singh's) presence at camp Sujanpur.[6]

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The *alif* on the original is not easily discernible, for it has got joined with the word *Sahi.*

2. The *zamīndārs* of this document do not appear simply to be the peasant-proprietors of the village in question. It may be assumed that the *zamīndāri* system survived into the Sikh regime without a radical change. At any rate, the existence of *zamīndārs* (who are frequently mentioned by the contemporary Persian chroniclers) poses the problem of knowing exactly what their position was.

3. This could probably refer to Chichiyan, a village about five miles north-east of Pindori.

4. See, our note 5 to Document I.

5. Since the *zamīndārs* had not been paying to the *mahants* (or their *gumāshtas*) what was their due, they have been ordered to make this payment (in kind) with a retrospective effect. Conflict between the *zamīndārs* and the holders of *madad-i-ma'āsh* grants was not uncommon even in the Mughal times. In another document in the present collection, which is not being published here, there is an explicit reference to interference by the *zamīndārs, muqaddams* and *chaudharīs.*

6. Apart from the prosperous town of Sujanpur at the foot of the hills near Pathankot, there is a village of the same name about eleven miles south-west of Pindori. It is not clear which of the two places is meant here.

XXVII

۱

(seal)

اکال سہائے
امر سنگھ

یادداشت
پٹہ

۲۴
موازی دو دوآزده گھماؤن زین باغ معہ چاہ وجہ بھیٹ منجملہ
نصفی
۱۲
د قبضہ زمین این بوزه (sic) مہنت صاحب کیشوداس جی
از ابتدائے فصل خریف سمت ۱۸۴۶ داده شده
برحال حاصل زین مذکور متصرف بوده

(in the margin)

اشیرباد برائے عمر و دولت
سرکار می نموده باشد پروشٹ اول سنگرات. ماه کاتک
سمت ۱۸۴۶ پروانگی حضور
درباغ نوشته (؟) شده

XXVII

O(nkār)

(Seal)[1]
May the Immortal (God)
be the Protector

Amar Singh

Yād-dāsht Patta

Twenty-four *ghumāons* (the half of which is twelve *ghumāons*) of land, together with a well and an orchard have been given as *bhet* to the venerable Mahant Kesho Das who is in possession of this land since the beginning of the *kharīf* crop of Saṁvat 1846 (A.D. 1789). While expending (on himself) the proceeds from the abovementioned land, he may continue to invoke divine blessings for the permanence of the august dominion.[2]

This personal order was written in the orchard on the day of *sangrānt,*[3] the 1st day of the month of Kattak, Saṁvat 1846 (October 19, 1789).

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Amar Singh, one of the associates of Jai Singh Kanhaiya, had established himself as an independent chief and Sujanpur was wrested by him from Ajaib Rai, probably the *qānūngo* of Document VIII. See, the *Gazetteer of the Gurdaspur District,* 1883-84, 12, 14.

2. This sentiment and phraseology would remind one of similar language used in the Mughal *farmāns* or *parwānas* relating to *madad-i-ma'āsh* grants. See, for example, Documents III, IV, VI, VII, XI, XIV, XV and XVI in *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar.* See also Document XII in the present collection.

3. Sanskrit *sankrānti,* the first day of the month by the solar calculation. The day is considered especially auspicious and worship is usually performed on this day.

XXVIII

او

(seal)

اکال سہائے
ہربخش سنگه (in Gurmukhi)

عزیز القدر لاله میگهراج برقرار الصدق . . . وپنچان سلهوپوره بدانند
آنچه معامله ضبطی و محچلکی از موضع سلهوپوره ایشان
از قدیم به سادهان پنڈوری واله می دهند
لازم که بدستور سابق به سادهان مذکوره
رسانیده داده باشند هرگز هرگز درین مقدمه
توقف درین حال نور زند
درین باب تاکید مزید شناسند

(in the margin)

بموجب پروانگی خاص ڈیره
. . . نوشته شد

XXVIII

O(*nkār*)

(*Seal*)[1]
May the Immortal (God)
be the Protector

Harbakhsh Singh

Be it known to the constantly truthful and well-beloved Lala Meghraj and the *panches*[2] of Salhupura[3] that they should continue to submit, as of old, the governmental and contractual revenues to the holy men of Pindori which they have been rendering to them from Salhupura since olden times. In this matter they should not effect delay on any account whatsoever. On this point they should know this to be an important injunction.

Written according to the special order at ... camp.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Though there can hardly be any doubt about our deciphering the name in this seal correctly as Harbakhsh Singh, we have not been able to identify him with any known historical figure among the Sikh Chiefs. The form, language and tone of the document suggest that it has come down from a late eighteen-century autonomous chief. See our discussion of this document in section three of the Introduction, where we suggest the possibility of its ascription to Sada Kaur.

2. A *panch* normally would be a member of a *panchāyat* which is defined in Wilson's *Glossary* as a court of arbitration, consisting of five or more members chosen by the parties themselves, for the determination of petty disputes among the people especially in matters affecting the usages of caste or occupation. According to Elliot's *Supplemental Glossary* (I, 279-82), the *panchāyat* was the "native tribunal" of great antiquity "whose popularity has remained unimpaired through the ages". In its strict connotation, a *panchāyat* should consist of five persons "who ought to be residents of the same village, or the same caste and rank in life as the parties concerned." But in actual practice the number of its members could vary from three to fifty or even a hundred. The authority of the *panchāyat* rested ultimately on public opinion. The system was popular among "the rude and simple peasantry of the Punjab."

However, there is no doubt that *panchāyats* existed also in some of the *qaṣbas* of the Punjab. See, for instance, Document XIII in *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar;* also note 5 to that document. For brief notices of the *panchāyat* in the Punjab during the Sikh times, see, H. R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs,* I, 317-19; III, 145. *Cf.* P. Saran, *Provincial Government,* 243-49.

3. This village, with a population of 945 persons in 1968, lies about eleven miles to the south of Pindori. It is now referred to as Salhopur.

XXIX

۱ پر

(in Gurmukhi) صحیح

(seal)

اکال سہائے
(in Gurmukhi) گوربخش سنگه

عاملان حال و استقبال پرگنه کاہنووان بدانند

۱۸ گھماؤ
آنکه موازی ہژده گھماؤن اراضی در کاہنووان خاص
نصفی
۹ گھماو
متصل سری گفاجی به صیغه دهرم ارته بقرار
قدیم الایام از عمل پادشاهان سری بهگوان
نارایں جی پنڈ دزی واله جی معاف و واگذار مانده
لہٰذا ارشاد والا بنام ایشان صادر می گردد
باید که زمین مسطوره را بدستور سابق واگذار دارند

(in the margin) احدے کس مزاحم آن
نباشد که حاصلات زمین مذکوره
سری بهگوان نارایں جی در تصرف خود آورده
بدعائے دولت واشیرباد خالصه جی
خواهد پرداخت درین باب تاکید مزید دانسته
حسب الحکم لعمل آرند

تفصیل

همراه بادلی جی	همراه چاه
۹ گھماؤن	۹ گھماؤن

تحریر بتاریخ ۱۱ ماه پهاگن سمت ۱۸۵۵

XXIX

"SAHI" (in Gurmukhi)

A(*kāl*) *Pur*(*kh*)[1]

(*Seal*)[2]
May the Immortal (God)
be the Protector
Gurbakhsh Singh

Be it known to the present and the future *āmils* of *pargana* Kahnuwan that eighteen *ghumāons* (the half of which is nine *ghumāons*) of land in Kahnuwan proper, adjoining the Sacred Cave, have been in conferment upon (the *mahants* of) the Pindori of Sri Bhagwan-Narain Jio by way of *dharmarth* in accordance with the established practice of (the Mughal) emperors from olden times. Hence this exalted order is being issued to them (the *āmils*) that they should treat the aforesaid land as a revenue-free grant in conformity with the former practice. No one should obstruct this (arrangement). (The descendants of) Sri Bhagwan-Narain Jio, expending on themselves the proceeds from the abovementioned land, shall pray for, and invoke divine blessings upon, the dominion of the Khalsa Jio. In this matter, they should know this to be an important injunction, and act strictly in accordance with it.

Detail :

adjacent to the bāoli	*adjacent to the well*
9 *ghumāons*	9 *ghumāons*

Written on the 11th of Phagun, Saṁvat 1855[3] (February 26, 1798).

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The *sarnāma* in this case, as in some others also, appears to be *Akāl Purkh* (The Immortal Being). In the original there are two or three letters: *alif, pā'i,* and *rā'i.*

We think that the first letter represents *Akāl,* an essential attribute of God in Sikh theology; and the two others are in abbreviation of *Purkh.* At any rate, the use of *Akāl Purkh* as a *sarnāma* may be expected from the eighteenth-century Sikhs.

2. Gurbakhsh Singh, the only son of Jai Singh Kanhaiya, had died in a battle with the Ramgarhia Sikh Chief, Jassa Singh, which was fought near Batala in Jai Singh's life-time. *Chiefs and Families of Note,* I, 381, 382.

3. This document bears a date later than that of Gurbakhsh Singh's death. The seal was used probably by his widow, Sada Kaur (Ranjit Singh's mother-in-law), who administered her husband's territories after his death in his name. For Sada Kaur, see Cunningham, *History of the Sikh,* 157-58; H. R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs,* III, 125, 126, 127; and Khushwant Singh, *Ranjit Singh,* 2, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19.

XXX

1

(seal)

اکال سہائیٔ
گوربخش سنگہ (in Gurmukhi)

عاملان حال واستقبال تعلقہ طالب پورہ بدانند
آنکہ مواضعات بھگوان پورہ و مہانراج پور وجبٹو وال و
داخلہ جاگیرات بہ صیغہ دھرم ارتھ دروجہ سری مہنت صاحب
اوتم سروپ مہنت کیشو داس جیو گدی نشین ٹھاکر دوارہ
پنڈوری والہ استھان سری بابا بھگوان نارائن جیو از
قدیم الایام معہ کل رسومات وتکالیف کار و بیگار معاف

(in the margin) دواگذار آمده اند

لازم کہ بصدور امر احدے کس
از اہل کاران خالصہ جیو از کسے
وجوہات مزاحم ومتعرض نشوند
بدستور قدیم ہمہ اختیار وتعلق
مہنت صاحب جیو ممدوح شناختہ
معاف ومرفوع القلم شناسند
اندرین باب تاکید دانند

تحریر بتاریخ ۱۶ ماہ ہاڑ سمت ۱۸۵۷

XXX

O(*nkār*)

(*Seal*)
May the Immortal (God)
be the Protector
Gurbakhsh Singh

Be it known to the present and the future *āmils* of the *ta'luqa*[1] of Talibpur[2] that the villages of Bhagwanpur, Maharajpur, Jattowal and Dakhla have been in conferment from olden times upon Sri Mahant Sahib of the Noble Countenance,[3] Mahant Kesho Das Jio, the *gaddi-nishīn*[4] of the *thākurdwārā* of Pindori, which is the sacred place of Sri Baba Bhagwan Narain Jio, as *jāgīr*[5] by way of *dharmarth* and (therefore) free from all customary cesses, obligations and *begār*.[6] It is incumbent upon all the functonaries[7] of the Khalsa Jio[8] that upon receipt of this order no one should on any account offer obstruction or interference. In accordance with the old practice, they should treat all the possessions of the aforesaid Mahant Jio as lawfully his, and as free from all kinds of cesses. In this matter, they should know this to be an injunction.

Written on the 16th of Har, Saṁvat 1857 (A.D. 1800).

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. In the latter part of the seventeenth century, *ta'luqa* had come to be used as a substitute for *zamīndāri.* The *ta'luqdār* at times was a *zamīndār* who was responsible for the collection of revenues not only from the villages in his *zamīndāri* but also from some others for which he acted as an intermediary. However, the term was also used loosely for the territories of *jāgīrdārs, zamīndārs* and even independent owners. *The Agrarian System of Mughal India,* 139, 141, 142, 171-72 and n. 12.

The *ta'luqa-i-Talibpura* of the present document may refer simply to the administrative unit that included the village Talibpura in its ambit. The exact connotation of the *ta'luqa* in Sikh times is not clear. Some of the *ta'luqas* could be very large. See, for instance, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh,* 200, 213.

2. This refers undoubtedly to Talibpura-Pindori, a slightly different form of the name having been used here.

3. We have literally rendered the expression "Uttam Swarup" used in the document. This was a term of respect which was evidently used in parlance and correspondence and is especially applicable to someone as respected as the occupant of the *gaddi* of Pindori.

4. *Gaddi-nishīn* is synonymous with *sajjāda-nishīn,* and both the terms in these documents refer to the head of the Pindori establishment. It is interesting to note that the former term is used in a Sikh document whereas the latter was used in the Mughal documents. Obviously, to a Muslim the head of the Pindori establishment appeared to hold a position similar to that of the Shaikh of a Sufi Order or the *sajjāda-nishīn* of a *dargāh.*

5. Here the term *jāgīr* is definitely used for the revenue free village of the *mahantş.* *Cf.* Our note 3 to Document XXV.

6. *Begār* occurs frequently in Mughal documents relating to *madad-i-ma'āsh.* It implies labour for which no payment is made. See, *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar,* 91, n. 8.

It is interesting to note that in this document, as in the Mughal *farmāns, begār* is mentioned in conjunction with other *rusūmāt* and *takālīf*.

7. *Ahl-i-kār,* or simply *ahlkār,* which ordinarily means "a workman, a clerk", appears to refer to the officials in general, including the *āmils* to whom this order is addressed. The term was frequently used in Sikh times but perhaps never for a specific office.

8. The term *Khalsa Jio* definitely refers to Gurbakhsh Singh (Sada Kaur). *Cf.* our note 4 to Document XXIII.

XXXI

سہی بخط ٹاکری

J

(seal)

اکال سہائی
سردار گوربخش سنگہ

عاملان حال و استقبال پرگنہ پٹھانکوٹ بدانند
چوں مواضعات بھگوان پور سیدھر و مہاراج پور و جٹوال
و داخلہ و آیمہ موضع پچیان از قدیم الایام وقت پادشاہان درتحت
و تصرف مندر سری بھگوان نادا این جیو پنڈوری والہ است
حالا ہم خالصہ جیو دیہات و ایمہ مذکور مفصل ذیل بدستور
سابق معاف (و) واگذار کردہ شد و بھیٹ مہنت کیشو داس نمودہ
باید کہ مہنت صاحب معاملہ دیہات مذکورہ را تحصیل نمودہ درتحت
و تصرف مندرجیو می آوردہ باشند و احدے مزاحم و متعرض دیہات
مذکورہ نشوند درین باب تاکید مزید دانستہ حسب المسطور
بعمل آرند فقط

تفصیل دیہات

موضع بھگوان پور سیدھر   موضع مہاراج پور   موضع جٹوال   موضع داخلا
ایمہ موضع پچیان   بیض

۱۴ اسادن سنہ ۱۸۶۰

XXXI

O(*nkār*)

"*SAHI* in *Tākri* characters"

(*Seal*)
May the Immortal (God)
be the Protector

Sardar Gurbakhsh Singh[1]

Be it known to the present and the future *āmils* of *pargana* Pathankot[2] that the villages Bhagwanpur Saidhar, Maharajpur, Jattowal, and Dakhla and the *ā'imma* village of Chichiyan have been in the possession and use of the (*mahants* of the) temple of Sri Bhagwan-Narain Jio of Pindori since the olden times of (the Mughal) emperors. Now, as before, under the rule of the Khalsa Jio, the abovementioned villages and *ā'imma,* as detailed below, have been conferred (as *bhet*) upon Mahant Kesho Das. It is necessary that the venerable *mahant* should collect the revenues from the said villages to expend on the establishment of the Sacred Temple. No one should offer obstruction or hindrance with regard to the (collection from the) abovementioned villages. Knowing this to be an important injunction they should act strictly in accordance with the (instructions contained in these) lines. This is all.[3]

Detail of villages:

Mauza Bhagwanpur Saidhar; *mauza* Maharajpur; *mauza* Jattowal; *mauza* Dakhla; *ā'imma-mauza* Chichiyan. *Baiz.*

(Dated) the 14th of Sawan, Saṁvat 1860 (A.D. 1803).

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. *Sardar* in the "seal" appears to have been added by the copyist. We may reasonably presume the seal used on the original to have been the one that appears on the other documents in this collection which bear the seal of Gurbakhsh Singh.

2. In this document, the modern name "Pathankot" is used instead of the usual "Pathan".

3. The word in the original is *faqat,* literally "only, solely, merely, simply". It appears to be the counterpart of the *kā'n zalik* of the Mughal documents in this collection.

XXXII

صحیح (in Gurmukhi)

او
بفضل سری اکال پورکه جی

(seal)

اکال سهائی
گوربخش سنگه (in Gurmukhi)

عاملان حال واستقبال تعلقه بیان پور بدانند
چون آنکه موازی ده گهماؤن زمین در موضع کلیج پور
نصف
۵
علاقه بیان پور سنگه صاحب فیاض سردار جے سنگه سرگباشی
بهیٹ سری مهنت صاحبان پنڈوری جی
نموده داده اند باید که بدستور سابق
واگذار دارند احدے مزاحم
نباشد درین باب تاکید مزید دانسته

حسب المسطور عامل باشند (in the margin)
تحریر بتاریخ ۲۷ ماه اسوج ۱۸۶۵
پروانگی خاص بو قت قصبه مقیریان (sic)

XXXII

"SAHI" (in Gurmukhi)

O(*nkār*)

"By the Grace of the Immortal Being".[1]

(*Seal*)
May the Immortal (God)
be the Protector

Gurbakhsh Singh

Be it known to the present and the future *āmils* of the *ta'luqa* of Bianpur[2] that ten *ghumāons* (the half of which is five *ghumāons*) of land in the village Kalijpur[3] in the *ilāqa*[4] of Bianpur were offered as *bhet* to the venerable *mahant* of Pindori by the generous Singh Sahib,[5] the late Sardar Jai Singh. It is incumbent (upon the *āmils*) that in accordance with the former practice they should treat (this land) as revenue-free, and none should offer any obstruction. Knowing this to be an important injunction, they should act strictly in accordance with the (instructions contained in these) lines.

Written on the 27th of Asuj, Saṁvat 1865 (A.D. 1808).

Special order (issued during) the halt at
the *qaṣba* of Mukerian.[8]

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. *Akāl Purkh* is clearly used in this as almost a continuation of the *sarnāma, Onkār.* We think this lends some justification to our suggestion that some of the abbreviated *sarnāmas* are really *Akāl Purkh.*

2. A little over four miles north-east of Pindori. The *Gazetteer of the Gurdaspur District,* 1883-84, 18, has this note on Bianpur : "Formed part of the estate of the Kanhaiya Sardar; first in Jagir to the widow of Nidhan Singh Kanhaiya, and latterly in Jagir to Raja Dhian Singh; escheated to the (Lahore) Darbar in 1844".

3. Two miles, north-east of Pindori. The Pindori establishment still owns some land in the village.

4. *Ilāqa,* almost in the sense in which *ta'luqa* is used in Document XXX, refers to the administrative unit of which the village Kalijpur was a part.

5. The title of *Singh Sahib* and the epithet *Faiyāz,* which are used here and in Document XXXIV for Jai Singh Kanhaiya, were by no means confined to him. Quite a few Sikh Chiefs of the late eighteenth century bear the title *Singh Sahib* in Ganesh Das's *Chār-Bāgh-i-Panjāb,* and, in this collection, it is used for Kharak Singh (Document XLII). *Singh Sahib-i-Faiyāz* is used also for Sher Singh in Document XLVIII.

The connotation of *Singh Sahib* in these documents is not essentially different from that of *Khalsa Jio* !

6. The town of this name in the Hoshiarpur district across the river Beas from Pindori. Mukerian is a flourishing town and was constituted a municipality as early as 1874. It is said to have been founded by Chaudhuri Dara Khan, in A.D. 1754, and was afterwards enlarged and improved by Sardar Jai Singh Kanhaiya who held possession of it. It is here that Mahtab Kaur, the daughter of Gurbakhsh Singh Kanhaiya, who was married to Maharaja Ranjit Singh, gave birth to the future Maharaja Sher Singh. (See, the *Gazetteer of the Hoshiarpur District,* Pt. A. 1904, 226).

XXXIII

(in Gurmukhi) صحیح

او

(seal)

اکال سہائی
گوربخش سنگھ (in Gurmukhi)

عاملان حال واستقبال تعلقہ طالب پور بدانند
چون آنکہ زمین در طالب پور بمقابلہ ڈہ قلبہ
بقرار قدیم الایام سری مہنت صاحبان پنڈوری جیو
خودکاشت کنانیدہ ماندہ اند
لہٰذا حکم عالی بنام ایشان صادر گردد
لازم کہ مزاحم زمین مسطورہ
و حاصلات آن جانباشند
درین باب تاکید بلیغ دانند

(in the margin) حسب الحکم بعمل آوردہ باشند
تحریر (بتاریخ) ۱۷ ماہ مگھر سمت ۱۸۶۵
پروانگی خاص

XXXIII

"SAHI" (in Gurmukhi)

O(*nkār*)

(*Seal*)
May the Immortal (God)
be the Protector

Gurbakhsh Singh

Be it known to the present and the future *āmils* of the *ta'luqa* of Talibpur that land equivalent to tn *qulbas,*[1] in Talibpur, has been with the venerable *mahants* of Pindori, who get it cultivated, from olden times. Hence this exalted order is being issued in their favour. It is incumbent (upon the *āmils*) that no one should offer any obstruction regarding this land, or hindrance in the collection of its revenues. They should know this to be an unexceptionable injunction.[2] It should be executed as ordered.[3]

(Written on) the 17th of Maghar, Saṁvat 1865 (A.D 1808).

Special order.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. *Qulba,* literally plough, is meant to indicate the size of the grant. Probably the area of land granted here was supposed to be equivalent to the land ploughed by ten pairs of bullocks in a single day—which may be an indirect way of saying ten *ghumāons*. *Cf.* our note 7 to Document IV.

2. *Tākīd-i-balīgh,* literally an eloquent injunction, is used in place of the *tākīd-i-mazīd* of some other documents.

3. The formula *hasbul-hukm b'aml ārand* may be read in this case as *hasb-ul-hukm b'aml āwurdah bāshand.* But the meaning will not materially change.

XXXIV

(in Gurmukhi) صحیح

1

(seal)
اکال سهائی
(in Gurmukhi) گوربخش سنگه

عاملان حال واستقبال پرگنه بیان پور بدانند
چون آنکه موازی ذه گهماؤن اراضی به صیغه دهرم ارتهه
نصفی
۵
بقرار قدیمی در موضع کلیج پور علاقه بیان پور
سنگه صاحب فیاض زمان سردار جے سنگه سرگباشی
بهیٹ سری پنڈوری جی کرده اند لهذا اصادر حکم
والا می شود باید که مزاحم زمین مسطور
نباشند دریں باب تاکید بلیغ شناسند

(in the margin) حسب الحکم بعمل آرند

تحریر (بتاریخ) ۱۹ ماه چیت سمت ۱۸۶۶
پروانگی خاص زبانی (موهرا (۹) مل جوقف قصبه بٹاله

XXXIV

"SAHI" (in Gurmukhi)

O(nkār)

(*Seal*)
May the Immortal (God)
be the Protector

Gurbakhsh Singh

Be it known to the present and the future *āmils* of *pargana* Bianpur that ten *ghumāons* (the half of which is five *ghumāons*) of land in the village Kalijpur in the *ilāqa* of Bianpur were offered by way of *dharmarth* to (the *mahants* of) Sri Pindori Ji as *bhet* by the generous Singh Sahib, the late Sardar Jai Singh, in accordance with the practice established of old. Hence this exalted order is being issued (in their favour). It is incumbent (upon the *āmils*) that they should not obstruct (the arrangements) regarding the abovementioned land. In this matter, they should know this to be an unexceptionable injunction and act strictly in accordance with the order.

Written on the 18th of Chet, Saṁvat 1866 (A.D. 1809).

Special order through Mohra Mal[1] (during) the
halt at the *qaṣba* of Batala.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The name of the person through whom this order is sent reads like Mohra Mal. This, however, is not certain. We have not been able to identify this person or his position.

XXXV

1

(in Gurmukhi) صحیح

(seal)

(in Gurmukhi) اکال سہائی
رنجیت سنگه

ملاحظه شد
ص

عاملان حال واستقبال بدانند
درینوقت موازی یک صد و بیست ۱۲۵ پنج گهماؤن زمین از
موضع کیڑی کلان بابت از قدیم مقرر دروجه بابا نروتم داس
مهنت پنڈوری واله بابت دهرم ارته از قرار قدیم
از حضور انور عطائی شده باید که به ورود پروانه والا
مزاحم احوال او نباشد حاصلات آن را خود بخود
گرفته باشد درین باب تاکید مزید دانسته حسب المسطور بعمل
آرند که کار دهرم ارته است تحریر بتاریخ

سیوم ۳ ماه مگهر سمت ۱۸۷۲ (in the margin)
پروانگی حضور ڈیره نهر

XXXV

"SAHI" (in Gurmukhi)

O(nkār)

(Seal)[1]
May the Immortal (God)
be the Protector
Ranjit Singh

(below) "Examined"[2]
Sād.

Be it known to the present and the future *āmils*! Now, one hundred and twentyfive (125) *ghumāons* of land in the village Kiri Kalan[3] have been conferred upon Baba Narotam Das, the *mahant* of Pindori, by way of *dharmarth* by His Illustrious Majesty[4] in accordance with the established practice of old. It is incumbent (upon the *āmils*) that on receipt of this exalted order they should offer no obstruction in his affairs and he (the *mahant*) will himself collect the proceeds from that (land). In this matter, knowing this to be an important injunction they should act strictly in accordance with (the instructions contained in) these lines, for this is a matter relating to *dharmarth*.[5]

Written on the 3rd of Maghar, Saṁvat 1872 (A.D. 1815).

Personal order (issued at) the Canal camp.[6]

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The use of Persian script in this seal of Ranjit Singh is worth noting. The *Sahi* in Gurmukhi may be in Ranjit Singh's own hand. That would not contradict the general fact of his being illiterate, for he could easily learn to approximate his sign-manual to the form of the simple word, *sahi,* without really knowing the alphabet.

2. Besides Ranjit Singh's seal is *mulāhizah shud* and *sād,* meant to indicate the veracity and authority of the case and the document. The re-appearance of some minor detail of Mughal documents on Ranjit Singh's orders is more pronounced than on those of the late eighteenth century Sikh Chiefs.

3. There is a village of this name about three miles north-east of Pathankot in that *tahsīl,* and even though there is another village of the same name in the Kathua district, it is likely that the Pathankot village is referred to here.

4. The use of the epithet *Huzūr-i-Anwar* for Ranjit Singh is extremely interesting. *Cf.* note 2 above.

5. In several documents in this collection the sanctity of religious endowments is emphasized as much by Ranjit Singh as by the Mughal Governors of Lahore and the Kanhaiya and other Chiefs of the late eighteenth century.

6. Ranjit Singh appears to have been personally present in this region at the time of issuing this order.

XXXVI

ا

(seal)

هربھج رائے

زمینداران گورداس ننگل بدانند

۱۶(کنال)
موازی دو گھمائوں زمین بابت راشی در وجہ دھرم ارتھ بہ مہنتان
پنڈوری جیو از حضور فیض گنجور عطائی شدہ باید کہ اراضی مذکورہ ابتدائے فصل خریف تنگوزئیل
در قبض و تصرف آنہا باز گذارند و معاملہ آن جا فصل بفصل سال بسال
بہ مشار الیہان می رسانیدہ باشند، ہیچ گونہ تفاوت نسازند
حسب المسطور بعمل آرند

تحریر بتاریخ چہارم ماہ ساون سمت ۱۸۷۳

XXXVI

O(*nkār*)

(*Seal*)[1]
Harbhaj Rai

Be it known to the *zamīndārs* of Gurdas Nangal[2] that : two *ghumāons* (16 *kanāls*[3]) of land have been conferred upon the *mahants* of Pindori by way of *dharmarth* by His Bounteous and Magnanimous Majesty[4] (Ranjit Singh) on account of *rāshi*[5] (to avert an evil star). It is incumbent (upon the *āmils*) that with effect from the beginning of the *kharīf* crop of *Tungūz-īl*[6] they should hand over the possession of the abovementioned land to the *mahants* for their use, and should send to them the revenues thereof, year after year and harvest after harvest. There should be no deviation of any kind (from this order) and they should act strictly in accordance with the (instructions contained in these) lines.

Written on the 4th of Sawan, Saṁvat 1873 (A.D. 1816).

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. One Harbhaj Rai Puri is mentioned as a *dīwān* by Ganesh Das who ascribes to him the construction of a *shivāla* in Sialkot (*Chār-Bāgh-i-Panjāb,* 226).

2. A small town, about four miles south-west of Gurdaspur town on the Gurdaspur-Batala road.

3. Here, again, eight *kanāls* make one *ghumāon*. *Cf.* our note 2 to Document XXII.

4. The term *Huzūr-i-Faiz-Ganjwar* refers obviously to Ranjit Singh.

5. The land seems to have been bestowed upon the establishment in charity to counteract the effect of an evil star in which Maharaja Ranjit Singh, like most other people, believed a great deal. This must have been done under the advice of the Court astrologer.

6. The use of a year of the Turkish duodenary cycle in this document of Ranjit Singh's time is extremely interesting. *Cf.* our note 2 to Document XXXV.

XXXVII

1

(seal)

اکال سہائی

(in Gurmukhi) رنجیت سنگھ

بابا صاحب اوتم سروپ امین چند . . .
درین وقت موضع لاہڑی دروجہ بابا صاحب نروتم داس
بابت دھرم ارتھ از سرکار عالی بھیٹ شده لازم
شما ہم باحوال مشارالیہہ مزاحمت نرسانید
لازم نویسان (؟) احوالات باشد

تحریر ۱۶ ماه ماگھ سمت ۱۸۷۳

پروانگی حضور ڈیره لاہور

XXXVII

O(*nkār*)

(*Seal*)
May the Immortal (God)
be the Protector

Ranjit Singh

May the Baba Sahib of the Noble Countenance, Amin Chand Jio, remain in peace and happiness !

Now, the village Lahri[1] (has been) granted by way of *dharmarth* to Baba Sahib Narotam Das by His Exalted Majesty.[2] It is necessary that you too should offer no obstruction in the affairs of the aforementioned (*mahant*). To act upon these orders is obligatory (?).[3]

Written on the 16th of Magh, Saṁvat 1873 (A.D. 1816).

Personal order (issued at) camp Lahore.[4]

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. There is a village simply by the name of Lahri about ten miles north of Pindori, but here it is Lahri Mahantan which is probably meant. See, note 2 to Document XXIII. That village is even now the sole property of the Pindori establishment.

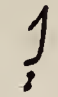
2. Ranjit Singh was generally referred to as the *Sarkār-i-'Ali* by the contemporary writers. See, for instance, Ganesh Das's *Chār-Bāgh-i-Panjāb.*

3. Our reading of *navīsān* may be incorrect. But we cannot think of any other word in its place which may do justice to the original and give some sense. We hope that our translation of this sentence in the context of this document conveys the real import.

4. This order is issued from Lahore. It is quite likely that Mahant Narotam Das or his representatives had approached the Maharaja to bring to his notice some difficulty created by Baba Amin Chand.

Instances of Ranjit Singh's decision regarding a dispute between two rival claimants to a certain position in a religious institution are not unknown.

XXXVIII



(seal)

اکال سہائی
(in Gurmukhi) کھڑک سنگہ

خصوصیت نشان لالہ کرپارام وغیرہ کارداران مناور بہ عافیت بودہ بدانند آنکہ زمین در وجہ دھرم ارتھ از قدیم الایام از موضع ہمیرپور وغیرہ تعلقہ مناور بتصرف اوجل دیدار ادتم سروپ مہنت نروتم داس پنڈوری والہ است میدانید کہ وجہ دھرم ارتھ از حضور واگذار است وخارج از جمع اجارہ لہذا امر جلیل القدر صادر می شود کہ بہ درود پروانہ والا زمین مذکور بدستور قدیم واگذار درزیدہ بوجہی مزاحمت نرسانید اندرین باب تاکید دانستہ حسب المسطور بعمل آرند

تحریر بتاریخ ۲۱ ماہ اسوج سمت ۱۸۷۴

پروانگی خاص بڈیرہ . . .

(in the margin)

ہمیرپور	درگہرو (؟)	در دیاورہ
۲۰ گھمانو	۲۵ گھمانو	۲۵ گھمانو

(reverse)

(seal) "کرپارام ۱۸۶۴"

آنکہ بدستور قدیم واگذار است ہرجائیکہ باشد مزاحمت نباشد

گہرو دیورا ہمیرپور

XXXVIII

A(*kāl*) *P*(*urkh*)

(*Seal*)
May the Immortal (God)
be the Protector

Kharak Singh

Be it known to the distinguished Lala Kirpa Ram[1] and other *Kārdārs*[2] of Manawar,[3] that *dharmarth* land in the village Hamirpur[4] and elsewhere in the *ta'luqa* of Manawar has been in the use of (the *mahant* of) the Pure and Noble Countenance, Mahant Narotam Das of Pindori, in accordance with the established practice of old. Be it known, further, that this *dharmarth* grant has been confirmed by the Noble Prince as free of revenue assessment.[5] Hence this august order[6] is being issued that on receipt of this exalted order the abovementioned land should be treated as revenue-free according to the established practice of old; no obstruction of any kind should be offered. Knowing this to be an injunction in this matter, they should act strictly in accordance with the (instructions contained in these) lines.

Written on the 21st of Asuj, Saṁvat 1874 (A.D. 1817).

Special order (issued at) camp……

(in the margin) :

in Haripur	in Gharoh[7]	in Diyaura[8]
20 *ghumāons*	25 *ghumāons*	25 *ghumāons*

Reverse :
Seal: "Kirpa Ram. 1864".[9]

"Since the land is revenue-free from ancient times there should be no obstruction wheresoever it is".[10]

Gharoh
Diyaura
Hamirpur

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Kirpa Ram is mentioned by Ganesh Das (*Chār-Bāgh-i-Panjāb,* 325) among the *dīwāns* of Ranjit Singh. In this document, he is a *kārdār,* by implication. This order was addressed to him by Prince Kharak Singh, the eldest son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who was given lands to administer while he was in his teens. He issued this order at the age of seventeen. For some detail of his career as a prince and as Ranjit Singh's successor, see Khushwant Singh, *Ranjit Singh,* 46-47, 67 n., 102, 103, 104, 120-21, 123-24, 132-33, 155, 191, 220-21, 222-23 ; N. K. Sinha, *Ranjit Singh,* 17, 26, 29, 32, 34 ; and *Chiefs and Families of Note,* II, 22-32.

2. The officials of Ranjit Singh were generally referred to as *kārdārs.* To equate the *kārdār* with the "revenue collector" is to restrict its contemporary connotation without much justification. It is doubtful if the *kārdār* was holding one specific office. For the multifarious duties of the *kārdārs,* see the *Umdad-ul-Tawārīkh,* 4, 56, 75, 80, 93, 132, 141, 143, 146, 177, 183-84, 203, 223, 241, 255, 260, 314, 324, 326, 389, 531, 532, 585, 587, 589. *Cf.* G. C. Barnes, *Settlement Report of the Kangra District,* Lahore 1883-84, 16.

3. This refers to the town of this name which was once the headquarters of a *Wazārat* in the Jammu and Kashmir state, 25 miles west of Jammu. There is a reference in the *Umdat-ul-Tawārīkh,* 210, to the visit of Ranjit Singh to Manawar in A.D. 1834.

4. We do not know the exact location of this village but it fell within the Manawar *Wazārat.*

5. The terms *khārij az jama'* and *ijāra* occur together in this document. The addition of the second term does not materially add to the meaning which would simply be "exempt from revenue demands". Some other terms used in the same sense, as already pointed out, are *marfū'-ul-qalm* and *wāguzār.*

6. The use of the phrase *amr-i-jalīl-ul-qadr,* for Kharak Singh's order, is quite significant of the honour given to him as a prince. See our note 1, above.

7. A copy of the settlement record of the Jammu and Kashmir state relating to the year 1912, in the possession of the *mahants* of Pindori, mentions this as 'Gohra' and places it in the Manawar *Wazārat.*

8. A small village six miles to the north-east of Manawar in the same *Wazārat.*

9. Kirpa Ram of this seal should be the *kārdār* referred to in note 1, above.

10. This is Kirpa Ram's note, meant probably for other *kārdārs.* He accepts and re-inforces the order issued by Kharak Singh.

XXXIX

رُ

(seal)

اکال سہائیؑ
منگل سنگھ (in Gurmukhi)

لکھتم منگل سنگہ
۱۲ گھماؤن (in Takri)

یاد داشت آنکہ

بیست و یک گھمانو زمین از کتہلور خواص
بموجب بھیٹہ سری مہنت صاحب ترن تارن
د وجہان مہانراج نروتم داس جیو نمودہ شد درین معنیٔ ہیچ فرق
و تفاوت نخواہد شد دھرم بادشاہزادہ کھڑک سنگھ جیو
است بنابران این چند سطور بموجب پٹہ
نوشتہ دادہ شد سال بسال محصول زمین
مہنت صاحب جیو می یافتہ باشند
۱۲ گھمانو

تحریر بتاریخ ہفتدہم ۱۷ ماہ ماگھ سمت ۱۸۷۴

XXXIX

O(*nkār*)

(*Seal*)[1]
May the Immortal (God)
be the Protector

Mangal Singh

(in *Tākri*) "Signed by Mangal Singh: 21 *ghumāons*".[2]

Yād-dāsht to the effect that twenty-one *ghumāons* of land in Kathlaur proper have been offered as *bhet* to the venerable *mahant,* the redeemer of the two worlds,[3] Maharaj Narotam Das Jio. In this matter, there will be no deviation or discrimination. This is a solemn commitment[4] of the prince, Kharak Singh Jio.[5] On that account these few lines have been written by way of a *patta* given (to the *mahant*) who should receive the proceeds from the land year after year.

21 *ghumāons*

Written on the 17th of Magh, Saṁvat 1874 (A.D. 1817).

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Three impressions of the same seal appear because the first two impressions were indistinct.

Mangal Singh of this seal cannot be an autonomous chief. The use of *Akāl Sahāi* in his seal is therefore quite interesting. He was probably the brother of Prince Kharak Singh's wife Ishar Kaur. (For some detail, see the *Chiefs and Families of Note,* II, 55-56; also, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh,* 93, 194, 201, 295, 298, 302, 303, 344, 373, 483, 485, 531, 559, 615, 678.) It is also likely, however, that Mangal Singh of this document was the grandson of Tara Singh Ramgarhia, who was patronized by Ranjit Singh and given *jāgīrs* in the Upper Bari Doab. For some detail, see the *Chiefs and Families of Note,* I, 442-43.

2. This has been written by Mangal Singh himself.

3. The expression used is *"taran-tāran-i-do-jahān"* which we have literally rendered here. This address of excessive reverence is in keeping with the general consideration shown to the *mahants* by the members of the royal family and the functionaries of the *darbār.*

4. The use of the term *dharm* may also refer here to the grant given by the Prince. *Cf.* our note 5 to Document XXIII.

5. The eldest son of Ranjit Singh. He appears to have given this grant as a prince, probably from his *jāgīr.* See our note 1 to Document XXXVIII.

XL

!

(Seal)

اکال سہائی
کھڑک سنگہ (in Gurmukhi)

اوجل دیدار لہنا سنگہ و حکم سنگہ و جمعیت سنگھ بھسینہ مسرور باشند
آنکہ زمین اکہڑ در موضع بھرتھ و گورداس ننگل در وجہ دھرم ارتھ بتصرف اوجل دیدار نرمل بودھ
مہنت نروتم داس پنڈوری والہ است و ایشان مزاحمت بزمین مذکور می رسانند بایشان مناسب نیست
لہٰذا امر جلیل القدر صادر می شود کہ بورود پروانہ و آمد زمین مذکورہ بدستور قدیم بہ مہنت مذکور واگذار داشتہ
بوجہی مزاحمت نرسانند اندرین باب تاکید دانستہ حسب المسطور بعمل آرند

تحریر بتاریخ ۱۲ ماہ اسوج سمت ۱۸۷۵
پروانگی خاص بڈیرہ لاہور

(in the margin)

از بھرتھ
۳ گھماؤں

از گورداس ننگل
۳ گھماؤں

XL

A(*kāl*) *P*(*urkh*)[1]

(*Seal*)[2]
May the Immortal (God)
be the Protector

Kharak Singh

May the Pure, Lehna Singh, Hukam Singh and Jam'at Singh of Bhasin, remain in peace and happiness!

Whereas, *dharmarth* land (*rakkar*[3]) in the village Bharth[4] and Gurdas Nangal is in the use of the Pure in Appearance and Intellect,[5] Mahant Narotam Das of Pindori Now, it has been brought to our notice that obstruction is being offered by them (the addressees) in matters relating to the abovementioned land. This is not proper.[6] Hence this august order is being issued so that on receipt of this order the income from the said land should be surrendered to the abovementioned *mahant* in accordance with the established practice of old. They should offer no obstruction and in this matter knowing this to be an injunction, they should act strictly in accordance with the (instructions contained in these) lines.

Written on the 12th of Asuj, Saṁvat 1875 (A.D. 1818).

Special order (issued at) camp Lahore.

(in the margin):

in Bharth	in Gurdas Nangal
3 *ghumāons*	3 *ghumāons*

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. From the dots placed under *alif,* this *sarnāma* also appears to be *Akāl Purkh.*

2. This is the same seal as on Document XXXVIII. Born in 1800, Prince Kharak Singh was yet in his teens.

3. The term *rakkar* appears to refer to uncultivated land.

4. This refers probably to the village now called Bharth Qazi Chak, eight miles north-west of Pindori.

5. The expression used in the text is *ujjal-dīdār, nirmal-bodh;* the former of these was commonly applied in correspondence, but the latter part of the expression seems to have been especially used in the context of the *mahants* of Pindori, and some favoured individuals like Raja Tej Singh and Attar Singh Sandhanwalia. See, *Chiefs and Families of Note,* I, 239-44, 407.

6. This clear injunction is being given to Lehna Singh, Hukam Singh and Jamiat Singh. Ganesh Das mentions Lehna Singh and Hukam Singh among the *amīrs* of Ranjit Singh, but their identification with the persons mentioned here is not certain. Nevertheless, they appear to be important enough from the use of the epithet *ujjal-dīdār* for them. Ranjit Singh's support to the Mahant of Pindori against them is extremely interesting.

XLI

او

(seal)

دیاکرو بهوانی
برمویترام
۱۸۷۱

خصوصیت انتظام جوالاداس و مهاسهاے مسرور الوقت باشند
بعد سرور موفور و الزام لا محصول السرور و درخواست چڑھتا مطلع آنکه
چون موازی بیست ۲۲ و دو گهماؤن زمین این معنی واقعه از تعلقه ادانکه
به صیغه دهرم ارته در وجه مهنت صاحب نروتم داس از قرار قدیم الایام
معاف و واگذار است لهذا امر جلیل القدر به نفاذ پیوسته به ورود پروانه
بدستور قدیمی معاف و مرفوع القلم دانسته مزاحمت نرسانند آنچه بموجب خسره عمل از دهرم ارته مهنت صاحب جیو
آمده باشد بدهند

تحریراً بیست ماه هاڑ مقام قلعه نورپور

(in the margin)

از گنیش داس لوازم رام رام پذیرا باد

XLI

O(nkār)

(Seal)[1]
May Bhawani be Merciful
to Moti Ram
1871
(A.D. 1814)

May the commendable Jwala Das[2] and Maha Sahai always be in peace and happiness! After this expression of, and prayer for, felicitations, be it clear regarding Charhta's petition that twentytwo *ghumāons* of land, situated in the *ta'luqa* of Awankh, have been in conferment upon Mahant Narotam Das by way of *dharmarth* in accordance with the established practice of old. Hence this august order is being issued (in his favour). On receipt of this order they should regard (the said land) as revenue-free in accordance with the old practice, and not offer any obstruction. They should hand over whatever may be due to the venerable *mahant* according to the *khasra*-entries relating to *dharmarth*.

Written on the 20th of Har (at) the fort of Nurpur

(in the margin) :
Ganesh Das sends his greetings[4]: "Ram-Ram".

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The invocation to the Goddess Bhawani in the inscription of this seal of an official of Ranjit Singh is interesting to note.

Moti Ram is mentioned by Ganesh Das among the most important *dīwāns* of Ranjit Singh (*Chār-Bāgh-i-Panjāb,* 326). He was asked to aid Kharak Singh in his expedition to Multan in A. D. 1817-18 (*ibid.,* 308). According to the *Gazetteer of the Gurdaspur District* 1883--84, 15, Nurpur had been annexed to the kingdom of Lahore in A.D. 1815 and Moti Ram was posted to this area in 1818-19.

2. Jwala Das and Maha Sahai appear to be the subordinates of Moti Ram.

3. The *khasra-aml* refers to the revenue-records. This may be a reference to the records of the times of the Kanhaiyas or even earlier. At any rate, it suggests the existence at this time of records in which revenue-free lands were entered separately for a given area.

4. Ganesh Das, who sends his greetings, may be the scribe. His note lends a certain amount of informality to the document.

XLII

ا :

(seal)

اکال سہائے
رنجیت سنگھ
دارالعدالت

عمال حال و استقبال تعلقه گھر و بٹاله بدانند
ارادت نشان دیوان مال مسرور باشد

(seal)

اکال سہائی
رنجیت سنگھ (in Gurmukhi)

حکم عالی صادر شد که آنکه دھرم ارتھ زمین از قرار قدیم در وجه رامدیوی و رام رتنی
واقعه کلاله معاف است بدستور سابق و گذشته و پیوسته و پارسال معاف دانسته
نوعی از سر نو مزاحم نباشند و همراه زراعت مسمات مذکوره دست اندازی و قدم اندازی ندارند
تاکیدات منها انگاشته حسب الحکم اقدس به کار برند ۔

(in the margin)

۳۰ ماه پھاگن سمت ۱۸۷۷
پروانگی حضور ڈیره لاهور بیض

(reverse)

(seal)

اکال سہائے
وساکھا سنگھ

XLII

A(kāl) P(urkh)

(Seal)
May the Immortal (God)
be the Protector
Ranjit Singh
Dār-ul-ʻadālat[1]
1876

(Seal)[2]
May the Immortal (God)
be the Protector

Ranjit Singh

Be it known to the present and the future *āmils* of Gharo Batala[3]! May the well-intentioned *dīwān-i-māl*[4] remain in peace and happiness!

The exalted order[5] is issued (to the effect) that the *dharmarth* land in Kalala[6] which has been in conferment upon Ram Devi[7] and Ram Ratni according to the established practice of old as a revenue-free (grant), should be regarded as revenue-free in the future as in the past[8] in accordance with the former practice, and there should be no fresh obstruction of any kind. There should be no interference at all with the abovementioned ladies getting the land cultivated. Knowing this to be an urgent injunction, they should act in strict accordance with this Pious Order.[9]

Written on the 30th of Phagun, Saṁvat 1877 (A.D. 1820).

Personal order (issued at) camp Lahore. *Baiz.*[10]

Reverse :

Seal :[11] "'May the Immortal (God) be the Protector.
Wasakha Singh".

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. This is a new square seal of Ranjit Singh, remarkable also for the use of *dār-ul-'adālat,* literally the court or hall of justice. Its exact import in the seal is not clear. If it refers to Ranjit Singh's court of justice, its relevance is not obvious. If it refers either to the capital or the King himself, its usual connotation is lost.

Ganesh Das's reference to Ranjit Singh's *muhr-i-dār-ul-'adālat* (*Chār-Bāgh-i-Panjāb,* 326), which was entrusted to the *dārogha,* Yusuf Khan, may be a reference to this special seal.

2. This seal has already appeared on Documents XXXV and XXXVII.

3. This village we have not been able to identify. It might have been situated in a different area than the Gurdaspur district.

4. The *dīwān* was entrusted with revenue-matters as his primary concern in the civil administration. The name of the *dīwān-i-māl* is not given in the document. The large majority of the *dīwāns* of Ranjit Singh were non-Sikhs, particularly Khatris. However, from the seal on the reverse it appears that the *dīwān-i-māl* was Wasakha Singh.

5. The original term used for Ranjit Singh's order is *hukm-i-'āli.*

6. Unidentified.

7. Maintenance grants were commonly conferred as *madad-i-ma'āsh* upon Muslim ladies by the Mughal Emperors, but those upon Hindu ladies are not commonly come across. The two ladies mentioned here must have received the land from a former ruler. It is difficult to explain the presence of this document in the Pindori collection unless it came into the possession of the establishment as a result of the purchase, or gift, of the land in question.

8. We have not rendered the original terms literally, which are *sābiq, guzashtah, paiwastah,* and *pārsāl.*

9. Here the original term used for Ranjit Singh's order is *Hukm-i-aqdas.*

10. The re-appearance of *baiz* here is interesting to note.

11. Ganesh Das mentions one Wasakha Singh, a resident of Chamiyari (then a small town in the Upper Bari Doab), as the *dīwān* of Prince Sher Singh (*Chār-Bāgh-i-Panjāb,* 298).

XLIII

1

(seal)

اکال سهائی
دسوندها سنگه (in Gurmukhi)

باعث تحریر و اقرار آنکه
چون موازی بیست ۲۵ و پنج گھمانو اراضی از واقعه موضع کتھلور
بموجب قرار پٹه شهزاده عالمین بلند اقبال سنگه صاحب
کھڑک سنگه جیو که بود حالا بدستور در وجه بھیٹ سری مهانراج
مھنت جیو سری پنڈوری در وجه دھرم ارتھ مرفوع القلم
که از قرار قدیم بود کرده داده شد باید که فصل بفصل حاصلات آنجا
درخوراک ساده سنگت درآید و در آشیرباد و ترقی دولت و خانه
سری مهانراج خداوند نعمت مشاغل مانند این چند حروف بطریق پٹه

(in the margin)

برائے سند تحریر کرده داده شد
که احدے کس مزاحمت نه رسانند
بموجب ملاحظه پٹه موصوف نوشته داده

تحریر بتاریخ ۴ ماه جیٹھ سمت ۱۸۸۰

XLIII

A(*kāl*) *P*(*urkh*)

(*Seal*)[1]
May the Immortal (God)
be the Protector

Dasaundha Singh

"Twentyfive *ghumāons* of land" (in Gurmukhi).

The purpose of this order and affirmation is that twenty-five *ghumāons* of land, situated in the village Kathlaur, were, and still are, in conferment by way of *bhet* upon Sri Maharaj, the venerable *mahant* of Pindori, in accordance with the *patta* issued by the Prince of the Lofty Fortune, Singh Sahib, Kharak Singh Jio.[3] This *dharmarth* land was revenue-free in accordance with the established practice of old and, as such, it has been confirmed (upon the grantee). He should use the proceeds thereof for feeding the *sādh-sangat*[4] harvest after harvest and he should invoke divine blessings for the augmentation of the fortunes of the person and the family of the Maharaja.[5] These few words have been written by way of a *patta* to serve as a *sanad* so that no one offers any obstruction. This has been written after (due) examination of the *patta* referred to.[6]

Written on the 4th of Jeth, Saṁvat 1880 (A.D. 1823).

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Dasaundha Singh might have been in charge of the *jāgīrs* of Kharak Singh at this time.

2. As in Document XXXIX, so in this, the size of the grant has been given in the hand of the authority issuing the order.

3. The titles of Kharak Singh in the original are: *Shahzādah-i-'ālamīn, Buland-iqbāl* and *Singh Sahib.*

4. The use of the term *sādh-sangat* (the congregation of holy men) for the followers of the *mahant* is quite interesting here, for this term was generally used for Sikh congregations.

5. This appears to be a reference to Ranjit Singh. If so, the situation may remind one of *madad-i-ma'āsh* grants given by others (*tasadduq*) for the benefit of the Mughal Emperors.

6. In the margin, the text is written from below towards the top. We had some difficulty in discovering this mode of writing.

XLIV

(in Gurmukhi)

کھوہ پن کیتا مہنت نروتم داس نوں
پنڈوری والا جیہڑا لئے سو کوہڑا ہووے گا

ا

(seal)

اکال سہائے
تارا سنگہ (in Gurmukhi)

عاملان حال و استقبال پرگنہ بٹالہ ضلع شاہ پور بدانند
موازی یک رہٹہ چاہ زمین ... تعلوالہ درو جہ مہنت
ٹھاکردوارہ پنڈوری بھگوان ناد این مہنت نروتم داس جی
از سرکار وجہ دھرم ارتھ دادہ از ابتدائے
فصل خریف سمت ۱۸۸۰ پیداوار زراعت معاملہ
ہرچہ باشد سال بسال فصل بفصل در تحت مہنت صاحب جیو
رسانیدہ دادہ خواہد شد بنابران این چند کلمہ

(in the margin) بطریق دھرم ارتھ
نوشتہ دادہ شد کہ ثانی الحال
سند گردد تحریر پرویشٹ سولہ ماہ سادن
سمت ۱۸۸۰ مرقوم یافت
بموجب پروانگی سنگہ صاحب زبانی کیدار دہرجی طولہہ
ڈیرہ شاہ پور نوشتہ شد

XLIV

O(*nkār*)

(*Seal*)[1]
May the Immortal (God)
be the Protector

Tara Singh

(in Gurmukhi)

> "A well has been granted in charity to Mahant Narotam Das of Pindori May he who takes it away from him become a leper!"[2]

Be it known to the present and the future *āmils* of *pargana* Batala in the Shahpur *zila*,[3] that some land together with a well, with a single Persian wheel,[4] named after Amin Chand Thalwala, has been granted by way of *dharmarth* by His Majesty[6] to the *mahant* of the *thākurdwārā* of the Pindori of Bhagwan-Narain, Mahant Narotam Das Jīo, with effect from the beginning of the *kharīf* crop of Saṁvat 1880 (A.D. 1823). All the produce from that land, including the revenues due to the State, should be handed over to the venerable *mahant* year after year and harvest after harvest. On that account these few words have been written as a *dharmarth-patta* to serve subsequently as a *sanad*.

Written on the 16th of Sawan, Saṁvat 1880 (A.D. 1823).

Inscribed in camp Shahpur in accordance with the Singh Sahib's orders issued orally through Kedar Dhar Ji[8]—may he live long!

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. This, is all probability, is the seal of Prince Tara Singh, one of the sons of Ranjit Singh. Prince Tara Singh had dealings with another Vaishnava establishment in Gurdaspur district, at Dhyanpur also.

2. This appears to have been written by Tara Singh himself. He reveals an interesting state of mind through this imprecation upon whosoever may take back this gift.

3. The mention of Gatala in the *zila'* of Shahpur is quite interesting. The term *zila'* appears to refer either to an administrative unit larger than the *pargana* or simply to the Shahpur tract.

4. The specific mention of a single Persian wheel suggests that it was perhaps not uncommon to have two Persian wheels in a well. *Cf.* H. R. Gupta, *A History of the Sikhs,* I, 321.

5. We have not been able to identify Amin Chand "of Thal". It was not uncommon to name wells after the first owner or donor of the well.

6. The original word is *sarkār,* which appears to refer to Ranjit Singh and not simply to the Government.

7. Both the produce and the revenues due to the Government were to go to the grantee. The grant, therefore, is very much a *madad-i-ma'āsh* grant.

8. We have not been able to identify this person.

XLV

(seal)

اکال سہائی
شیر سنگہ (in Gurmukhi)

چون آنکہ ٹونبو مبلغ شش ہزار روپیہ بابت ضامنی
جوالا سنگہ سری مہنت صاحب نروتم داس سری پنڈوری جیو
بحضور شاہزادہ عالمین نوشتہ دادہ بود
و ہم ہمراہا مبلغائے مسطورہ مہنت صاحب را
ہیچ واسطہ و غرض نیست و نخواہد شد کہ از ضامنی مشار الیہہ
پاک کردہ اند لوعی واسطہ ندارد آنچہ ٹونبو نوشتہ شدہ بود
حالا درین جائے موجود نیست بنابران این چند کلمہ بطریق

(in the margin) فارخطی (sic) از ضامنی
مبلغائے مذکورہ نوشتہ دادہ شد
اگرچہ ٹونبو باز براند دروغی خواہد شد

تحریر بتاریخ ۱۵ ماہ بھادون سمت ۱۸۹۵
پروانگی حضور ڈیرہ طالب پور

XLV

(*Seal*)[1]
May the Immortal (God)
be the Protector

Sher Singh

Whereas, the venerable Mahant Sahib, Narotam Das Jio of Pindori, had given a *tombu*[2] for six thousand rupees as a surety[3] for Jwala Singh[4] to the Prince among men.[5] Now the venerable *mahant* has, and will have, nothing to do with the aforesaid amount, for (the Prince) has absolved him of his obligations as a surety. He (no longer) has anything to do in this matter. The *tombu* which had been written (originally) is not available here. On that account these few words are being written by way of *fārigh-khatī*[6] from the surety of the abovementioned amount. If the *tombu* is presented hereafter (in support of any legal claims) it will be regarded as false.

Written on the 15th of Bhadon, Saṁvat 1895 (A.D. 1838).

Personal order (issued at) camp Talibpur.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Like Kharak Singh, Prince Sher Singh is also using his seal in Ranjit Singh's lifetime. Sher Singh was associated with the Batala region from the days of Sada Kaur, his maternal grandmother. For his career as a prince and as the Maharaja, see Khushwant Singh, *Ranjit Singh,* 67, 134, 136-37, 150, 155, 161, 164-65, 196-97; Baba Prem Singh Hoti Mardan, *Maharaja Sher Singh* (Punjabi), Lahore Book Shop, Ludhiana, n.d.

2. A bond or promissory note. The word covers many categories of legal instruments recognized in courts of law.

3. It is not clear from the document why this surety was required. The word *zāmini* is quite clear.

4. It is difficult to identify Jwala Singh. Ganesh Das mentions one, among the *amīrs* of Ranjit Singh (*Chār-Bāgh-i-Panjāb,* 324). There was another Jwala Singh who is likely to be the Jwala Singh of this Document. "In the beginning of his reign Sher Singh had leant much upon an active and ambitious follower, named Jawala Singh whose bravery was conspicuous during the attack on Lahore. This petty leader hoped to supplant both the Sindhianwala Chiefs and the Jammu Rajas as leading courtiers, but he proceeded too hastily; he was seized and imprisoned by Dhian Singh in May 1841, and died by foul means immediately afterwards". Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs,* 230 n. 2.

5. This title, as already noticed, was used for Prince Kharak Singh also.

6. The original word is *fārkhati,* but there is no doubt that it is meant to be *fārighkhati,* for this document releases Mahant Narotam Das from his previous commitment.

XLVI

ا

(seal)

اکال سہائے
مہاراجہ شیر سنگہ بہادر

درینولا موضع کیسو کلال بصیغہ دھرم ارتھ ابتدائے فصل ربیع سمت ۱۸۹۹
پیشس اوتم سروپ کرپاندان مہنت نزوتم داس جیو بھیٹ وارداسس
کردہ شدکہ حاصلات آنجا فصل بفصل سال بسال صرف
مایحتاج خود آوردہ دراستدعائے دولت واقبال مشغول
باشند بنابران این چند کلمہ بطور پٹہ بھیٹ نامہ نوشتہ شد
کہ سند گردد

تحریر تاریخ بیست^{۲۱} یکم ماہ چیت سمت ۱۸۹۹

(in the margin)

موضع کیسو کلال بھیٹ مہنت صاحب کردہ شد
ہیچ وجہ تفاوت نخواہد شد

XLVI

O(*nkār*)

(*Seal*)[1]
May the Immortal (God)
be the Protector

Maharaja Sher Singh Bahadur

Now, the village Keso Kalal[2] has been offered in *ardās*[3] as *bhet* to the Noble and Compassionate Mahant Narotam Das Jio by way of *dharmarth* from the beginning of the *rabī‘* crop of Saṁvat 1899 (A.D. 1842) to that he may remain occupied with praying for the dominion and good fortune (of the Maharaja),[4] while expending on his daily needs the proceeds from that (land) year after year and harvest after harvest. On that account these few words have been written by way of a *patta* of *bhet* to serve as a *sanad.*

Written on the 21st of Chet, Saṁvat 1899 (A.D. 1842).

(in the margin) :
"The village Keso Kalal has been given to the venerable *mahant* as *bhet.* There should be no deviation (from this order").[5]

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The word "Maharaja" has been added by the copyist. Otherwise this was the same seal as on the preceding document.

2. A small village about two miles to the north of Pindori. The entire land of the village is held by the Pindori establishment till this day as *jāgīr* attached to the temple.

3. There is no material difference between *bhet* and *ardās*. The latter term was probably more frequently used by the Sikhs and it was closely connected with the idea of praying for the prosperity of the donor.

4. This prayer appears to be meant on behalf of Sher Singh, if anyone. We use the word "Maharaja" because in this document Sher Singh is being called "Maharaja".

5. In the document, this marginal note is placed near the "seal". It may be suggested, therefore, that it was written originally on behalf of Sher Singh.

XLVII

سری رام جی سہائیٔ (in Tākri)

آنکه اسباب اشیائے این جائے میان مہتاب سنگه
گرفته در پنڈوری بھگوان نراین وغیره جایٔ انداخته بود
ازانجمله اسباب که بروئے مہنت نروتم داس ظاهر کرده بود
معرفت اوتم سروپ پنڈت جلاجی رسیده شد
برائے یادداشت نوشته شد که میان مہتاب سنگه را باسباب مذکوره
دعوی نیست فقط

بتاریخ ۵ ماه بھادوں سمت ۱۸۹۹
ڈیره پنڈوری

(A note in Tākri in the margin)

XLVII

"May Shri Rama
be the Protector"[1]
(in *Tākri*)

From the goods and the articles which Mian Mahtab Singh[2] had taken from this place and deposited in the Pindori of Bhagwan-Narain and other places, the goods which had been declared (deposited) in the presence of Mahant Narotam Das have been received through the Noble Pandit, Jalla Ji.[3] It is being written as a *yād-dāsht* that Mian Mahtab Singh has no claims (upon the *mahant*) for the abovementioned goods. This is all.

Written on the 5th of Bhadon, Saṁvat 1899 (A.D. 1842).

Camp Pindori.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. This invocation in *Tākri* appears to have been used by Mian Mahtab Singh.

2. It is difficult to place this person even though the prefix "Mian" indicates that he must have been a member of a ruling Rajput family from one of the hill states.

3. Pandit Jalla was one of the most interesting figures at the court of Lahore. Machinations of all kinds are generally associated with his name and a certain air of mystery surrounds his person. But in this document he is surely referred to as an extremely respectable person. He would play an important rôle in Hira Singh's ministry in A.D. 1843-44, to be murdered towards the close of 1844. For some detail, see, Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs,* 238-40.

XLVIII

او

(seal)

ستگور سہائے
شیر سنگہ
۱۹۰۱

ستگور سہائے

ایشرداس

چون درین وقت موازی پنج گھمائوں اراضی از موضع جمال پور
ابتدائے خریف سمت ۱۹۰۲ بہ سری مہنت صاحب گنگاداس سری
پنڈوری جیو در وجہ دھرم ارتھ سنگہ صاحب فیاض دام ظلہہ
وجہ بھائی معاف و واگذار کردہ است احدے مزاحم
اراضی مذکور ہرگز ہرگز نخواہد شد کہ مقدمہ دھرم ارتھ
است و غلہ بھائی مذکورہ بھوگ سری ٹھاکر جیو ہر روز

(in the margin)

میکردہ باشند
و دعوی اشیرباد درحق سنگہ صاحب فیاض دام ظلہہ
می فرمودہ باشند

تحریر بتاریخ ۱۸ ماہ بھادوں سمت ۱۹۰۲

(attestations)

۱۔ گواہ شد سنت رام قانونگوی
۲۔ گواہ شد گوبچند قانونگوی پنج گھمان زمین بھائی درپنڈوری بھیٹ قدیم ...

(others, in Tākri)

XLVIII

O(*nkār*)

(*Seal*)[1]
May the True Guru be
the Protector

Sher Singh
1901

(*Seal*)[2]
May the True Guru be
the Protector

Ishar Das

Whereas, five *ghumāons* of land in the village Jamalpur[3] have been conferred with effect from the beginning of the *kharīf* crop of Saṁvat 1902 by way of *dharmarth-bhāti*,[4] upon the venerable Mahant Ganga Das of Sri Pindori Jio by the generous Singh Sahib,[5] may he live long! No one should on any account whatsoever offer obstruction (in the affairs of) the abovementioned land, since it is a religious endowment. Let them use the produce thereof for the daily sacred victuals[6] of Sri Thakur Jio and invoke divine blessings[7] upon the generous Singh Sahib—may he live long!

Written on the 18th of Bhadon, Saṁvat 1902 (A.D. 1845).

Attestations[8] :

1 Witnessed by Qanungo Gauri Chand: "five *ghu-*

māons of *bhāti* land in the village Pindori—an old *bhet*".

2. Witnessed by Qanungo Sant Ram.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. This is a posthumous seal of Sher Singh used probably by Ishar Das. The use of *Satgur Sahāi,* instead of the usual *Akāl Sahāi,* is unusual.

2. Ishar Das may be a *dīwān* of Sher Singh.

3. A small village close to the same railway station, situated at a distance of about four miles south-west of Pathankot.

4. A category of charitable bequest the proceeds of which are to be expended on the personal needs of the deity of the donee.

5. The title *Singh Sāhib-i-Faiyāz* is used for Sher Singh.

6. The expression used in the text is *bhog parshād* which is a part of the sacred routine at a temple by which "food" is systematically offered to the idols and then distributed among the devotees.

7. The word in the original is *āshīrbād,* the counterpart of the *istida'ā* of Mughal documents.

8. This attestation by the *qānūngos* is very interesting. It is possible that the case was recommended by them on the basis of an old grant which, for one reason or the other, had been discontinued.

XLIX

۱

(seal)

بھوانی سہائے
مصر رام دیال

چوہدری نند سنگہ مسرور باشند
لہذا پروانہ والا بنام ایشان صادر می شود
باید کہ بیست ۲۵ و پنج گھماو زمین در وجہ مہنت صاحبان
عبور (؟) را زمین بنجر افتادہ پیمائش کردہ دہند درین باب
تاکید مزید انگاشتہ حسب المسطور بعمل آرند

(in the margin)

اندک نوشتہ را مفرط شناسند
کہ اراضی وجہ دھرم ارتھ دادہ شد
درین باب حرُ (؟) شرط است

تحریر اول بھادوں سمت ۱۹۰۴

XLIX

O(*nkār*)

(*Seal*)[1]
May Bhawani be the
Protector

Misr Ram Dayal

May Chaudhari Nand Singh[2] remain in peace and happiness !

Now, this exalted order is being issued in his name that twentyfive *ghumāons* of culturable waste[3] should be measured and given in favour of the venerable *mahants* . . . (as *dharmarth*). Knowing this to be an important injunction he should act strictly in accordance with the (instructions contained in these) lines. These few words should more than suffice,[4] for the land (in question) is a *dharmarth* grant. A good action[5] in this connection is imperative.

Written on the 1st of Bhadon, Saṁvat 1904 (A.D. 1847).

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The name on the seal is not very clear. It is probably Ram Dayal. Misr Ram Dayal was an important figure at the court of Lahore. It is interesting to find him granting land in his own authority. However, it is not clear whether or not he is giving this grant from his own *jāgīr*.

2. We have not been able to identify Chaudhari Nand Singh.

3. The category of land mentioned here assimilates the grant to some of the *madad-i-ma'āsh* grants given by the Mughal Emperors. It was not unusual with them to give some "culturable waste" to the grantees.

4. This expression, a little unusual, is a substitute of the *tākīd-i-mazīd* or *tākīd-i-balīgh* of some other documents.

5. The crucial word in this sentence is not clear. We have read it as *hurr,* literally "a good action".

L

بفیض سری اکال پورکھ جی

(seal)
اکال سہائی
دلیپ سنگہ (in Gurmukhi)
۱۹۰۲

ستگور سہائے
شیر سنگہ
۱۹۰۱

راجہ تیج سنگہ بہادر
سری... انگریز بہادر

اکال سہائے
نوشتہ شد
۱۹۰۴

اکال سہائی
محرر پٹہ... (in Gurmukhi)
بتاریخ ۲۸ بیساکھ سمت ۱۹۰۵ (below)

خصوصیت نشان لالہ ٹیک چند مسرور (باشند)
درین وقت با واہر بھجن داس سادھ اوتم سروپ گنگاداس
مہنت پنڈوری والہ در حضور الانور آمدہ ظاہر ساختہ
کہ موازی ہشت گھماؤ اراضی واقع موضع طالب پورہ
از قرار قدیم شاہان معاف است وحالا
کار دار پروانہ جدید طلب می سازد لہٰذا امر داور بنام شما
صادر می شود لازم کہ موجب طلبی پروانہ جدید

در حضور الانور عرض دارند (in the margin)
کہ با وصف بودن سند قدیمی طلبی پروانہ
جدید مناسب ندارد تاکید است
تحریر بتاریخ ۲۸ بیساکھ سمت ۱۹۰۵

پروانگی حضور الانور بوقف لاہور.. بیض
و زمینداران را ناحق خلش کردن ندہد

(reverse)

۱۔ مطلع شد قلمی شد
(seal) "...سہائی..."

۲۔ اطلاع ...
۳۔ ملاحظہ شد
۴۔ درج کتاب ۳۱ بیساکھ سمت ۱۹۰۵
۵۔ نوشتہ ۳۰ بیساکھ سمت ۱۹۰۵
۶۔ درکتاب بنمبر ۱۴۱
۷۔ (seal)... کشن چند
۸۔ (signatures in English)

L

Through the Grace of the Immortal Being[1]

(*Seals*)

A[2] May the True Guru be the
Protector
Sher Singh
1901

B[3] May the Immortal (God)
be the Protector
Dalip Singh
1902

C[4] Raja Tej Singh Bahadur . . . of
the Valiant English
1904

D[5] May the Immortal (God)
be the Protector
The Muharrar-i-patta . . .
(below) on the 28th of Baisakh
Saṁvat 1905

E[6] May the Immortal (God)
be the Protector
"Inscribed"
1904

May the distinguished Lala Tek Chand[7] remain in peace and happiness!

Now, Bawa Harbhajan Das,[8] the *sādh* of the *mahant* of Noble Countenance, Ganga Das of Pindori, having come to the Illustrious Court,[9] has revealed that twenty *ghumāons* of land in the village Talibpur have been revenue-free according to the established practice of old of (the Mughal) emperors.[10] The *kārdār* now demands a fresh order (in this matter). Hence this world-subduing order[11] in your name is being issued that the reason for the demand of a fresh order should be submitted to the Illustrious Court, for it is not proper to ask for a fresh order where there exists an old *sanad*.[12] This is the injunction.

Written on the 28th of Baisakh, Saṁvat 1905 (A.D. 1848).

Order from the Illustrious Court (issued) at Lahore . . . *Baiz.*

"He should not allow the *zamīndārs* to offer gratituous opposition".[13]

Reverse[14] :

1. "Written" 30th Baisakh, Saṁvat 1905 (Signatures in English illegible).
2. "Entered in the Book" 31st Baisakh, Saṁvat 1905.
3. "In the Book No. 41, *siyāha* number . . ."
4. "Examined".
5. *Seal*: "Kishan Chand . . ."
6. "Noted".
   (below) *seal*: ". . . be Protector".
7. "Inscribed".

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The first word in this *sarnāma* is clearly *faiz,* instead of the more usual *fazl.*

2. This is the same seal of Sher Singh as on Document XLVIII. It is again used posthumously!

3. Dalip Singh was the reigning monarch at this time.

4. Tej Singh the Commander-in-Chief of the Khalsa army since 1845, was made President of the Council of Regency in December 1846, and he was created Raja in August 1847. His titles were *Ujjal-dīdār, Nirmal-bodh, Mubāriz-ul-Mulk, Samsām-ud-daulah, Raja Tej Singh, Sālār Safdar Jang, Raja-i-Sialkot.* For some detail of his career, see, the *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Panjab,* Lahore 1940, I, 239-49.

5. This appears to be the seal of the official who drew up this document. The practice was introduced probably in the reign of Ranjit Singh.

6. This appears to indicate the completion of the document in accordance with the requirement of the case.

7. At this time, one Tek Chand was a *kārdār* of Batala. This order might have been addressed to him.

8. It was common for the *mahants* to have their cases represented by some competent devotees or inmates of the establishment. Bawa Harbhajan Das appears to have been one of these. The suffix "Das" indicates that he was himself a Bairagi.

9. The *Huzūr-i-Anwar* of this document does not appear to refer to an individual.

10. Obviously, the reference is to the Mughal Emperors, for the phrase used is *qarār-i-qadīm-i-shāhān.*

11. The *amr-i-dāwar* appears to be synonymous with the *hukm-i-jahān-mutā'* of the Mughal *farmāns.*

12. It is extremely interesting to note that an older grant is being taken as confirmed on the basis of an old (probably Mughal) *sanad.*

13. Opposition between the *zamīndārs* and the holders of revenue-free lands was not uncommon. Here is a clear injunction that the *zamīndārs* were not to be allowed to harass the *mahants.*

14. The entries on the reverse indicate that the document underwent a regular processing which, perhaps, had become a little more formal now than before. Its formality may remind one of some of the Mughal documents.

LI

1

(seal)
دیوی جی سہائے
شنکر ناتھ
۱۸۹۳

(Signatures in English)

ارادت نشان لالہ لاجپت مسرور باشند
چون درینوقت موازی بیست ۲۵ پنج گھانو اراضی بصیغہ دھرم ارتھ
از موضع ببا ہالی از ابتدائے ربیع سمت ۱۹۰۶ ارداس سری ٹھاکر جیو
و مہنت سری گنگا داس جیو گردیده باید کہ بورود پروانہ والا
معاملہ زمین مذکور حوالہ آدمان مہنت صاحب جی

(in the margin) کنانیده دہند
ہرگز فرق نکنند تحریر نوشتہ (؟) علیحدہ کنانیده
دہند درین باب تاکید مزید است

بتاریخ ۱۹ پھاگن سمت ۱۹۰۵
پروانگی خاص مقام پنڈوری

LI

O(*nkār*)

(*Seal*)[1]
May the Great Goddess be
the Protector

Shankar Nath
1893

May the obedient Lala Lajpat[2] remain in peace and happiness!

Now, twentyfive *ghumāons* of land in the village Babehali have been granted by way of *dharmarth* to Mahant Sri Ganga Das Jio, as offering to Sri Thakur Jio, with effect from the beginning of the *rabī*' (crop) of Saṁvat 1906 (A.D. 1849). He should see that on receipt of this exalted order the proceeds from the abovementioned land are given to the men of the venerable *mahant*. There should be no deviation at all (from this order) and a separate deed[3] relating to this matter should be prepared and given (to the *mahant*). This is an important injunction.

Dated the 19th of Phagun, Saṁvat 1905 (A.D. 1848).

Special order (issued at) Pindori.[4]

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The invocation to the Goddess by Shankar Nath is interesting. At this time he was administering the region covered by Batala, Dinanagar and Pathankot. He was a younger brother of Raja Sahib Dayal of Kishankot in the Gurdaspur district. See, Griffin, *Chiefs and Familes of Note in the Panjab,* Lahore, 1940, II, 50, see, also, 42, 46, 47.

2. Lajpat may be a *kārdār* at Batala or Kahnuwan. From another document belonging to this very collection, but not published here, we know that Lajpat issued an order to the *panches* of Babehali within three weeks.

3. In the document mentioned in the preceding note, the *panches* are ordered to measure twentyfive *ghumāons* of land to be handed over to the grantee or his *gumāshtas.* It is probable, therefore, that the term *'alaihidah kunānīdah* refers also to a piece of land specifically marked for the purpose.

4. Shankar Nath appears to have visited Pindori and issued this order from there to his subordinate. He may be identified with Diwan Shankar Nath who was employed in Prince Kharak Singh's treasury office in A.D. 1820 and was transferred later to the central record office where he remained until A.D. 1849. He was married to Raja Dina Nath's sister. *Chiefs and Families of Note,* I, 363-64. *Cf.* n. 1, above.

LII

(Stamp)
Stamp Office
(E.I.C.)
1857-1858
No. 10.
Eight Annas
اٹھ آنہ (in Bengali)
ہشت آنہ
استامپ آفس

اقرار کردند و اعتراف صحیح و شرعی نمودند مخبران به اسم و نسب خود ہائے گھنا ولد عبد اللہ و بوٹا و عطا و قادر و جمیتا پسران عزیز اللہ و نتھا و کرم الہی پسران
گلاب و چھنوں ولد نابا قوم راجپوت عرف . . .(torn)

چون درینوقت باصحت احدی (۶) و ثبات عقل اراضی موازی ۳، گھماؤں ۲ کنال ۰ امرله ترددی وافتاده که فی الحال اراضی ہذا بنام مہنت صاحب گنگا داس
تا قیام مکان مندر معاف است و مالکیت و موروثیت آبا و اجداد بلا شرکت غیرے من مقران بود بلا اکراه و اجبار من احدے برضائے و رغبت خود ہائے
اراضی مسطوره مع اشجار مثمر و غیر مثمر بقید نمبرہائے مفصله ذیل که بموجب پیمائش صاحبان والاشان حسب بندوبست انگریزی مندرج کاغذ پٹواری دیہہ ست
محدود بحدود ذیل و معروف باسم چھنب است بمقابله مبلغ ۷۳ روپیه ضرب چہره شاہی رائج الوقت که نصف آن
۳۶ روپے ۸ آنے می باشد بدست جناب معلی القاب مہنت صاحب مہنت گنگا داس مالک گدی پنڈوری و بعد ازاں رادھکا داس صاحب
چیله مہنت صاحب مذکور بیع نمودیم و فروختیم و مبلغ مذکور را از حساب مہنت صاحب گرفته در قبض و تصرف خود آوردیم اگر ثانی الحال
از شرکایان ما یا کسے دعوی مالکیت و وراثت نماید ذمه من مقران است مدعی دروغی و کاذب خواہد شد
بنابران این چند حروف بطریق بیع نامه نوشته دادیم

کہ ثانی الحال بکار آید و سند گردد
تحریر فی التاریخ ۲۸ فروری سنہ ۱۸۵۹ء مطابق ۱۹ ماہ پھاگن سمت
۱۹۱۵ و ۱۲۶۵ فصلی

سرحد شرقی
ملحق باراضی رقبہ چندر بھان

غربی
ملحق باراضی جٹو داں علاقہ ہذا

جنوبی
ملحق اراضی جٹو وال علاقہ طالب پور

شمالی
ملحق باراضی ملو وال مالکان دیہہ ہذا

العبد
گھنا ولد عبداللہ
(signatures)

العبد
بوٹا ولد عزیز اللہ
(signatures)

العبد
عطرا ولد عزیز اللہ
(signatures)

العبد
قادر ولد عزیز اللہ
(signatures)

العبد
جمیتا ولد عزیز اللہ
(signatures)

العبد
نتھا ولد گلاب
(signatures)

العبد
کرم الہی ولد گلاب
(signatures)

العبد
چنوں ولد نابا
(signatures)

تفصیل نمبر ہائے

....

....

....

(attestations in the margin)

۱۔ گواہ شد سلطان بخش بقلم خود: بموجب گفتہ ملوالا گھنا لمبردار و بوٹا چندر بھان
۲۔ گواہ شد حبو رام لمبردار موضع کیلج پور: بموجب گفتہ گھنا و بوٹا وغیرہ ساکن مالو وال
۳۔ گواہ شد فوجدار سردیہ
۴۔ گواہ شد عطرا لمبردار ساکن موضع چندر بھان
۵۔ گواہ شد کرم الہی لمبردار ساکن موضع چندر بھان
۶ گواہ شد گوردتہ پٹواری دیہہ ساکن طالب پور (signatures in Tākri)
۷۔ گواہ شد کرم دین لمبردار ساکن موضع چندر بھان
۸۔ گواہ شد کریم داد لمبردار بقلم خود ساکن جگت پور آنچہ درین است درست است
۹۔ گواہ شد گور بخش لمبردار ساکن ... آنچہ درین است درست است
۱۰۔ گواہ شد محبت سنگہ ساکن . . .
۱۱۔ گواہ شد سردار... لمبردار طالب پورہ بقلم خود: آنچہ درین است درست است
۱۲۔ گواہ شد ولی داد لمبردار ساکن جگت پور

(reverse)

یہ وثیقہ بیع نامہ درمیان وقت ۱ و ۲ بجے دن کے ہمارے سامنے تصدیق ہوا تو مسمیان بوٹا و عطرا
جمیتا ولدآن عزیز و گھنا ولد دلا و نتھا ولد گلاب ذات، راجپوت بالغان ساکنان ملو وال نے بیان کیا

کہ ہم نے موازی ۷۳ گھماؤ اراضی واقعہ موضع مذکور بمقابلہ مبلغ ۷۳ روپے کو بدست مہنت گنگاداس
گدی نشین پنڈ$^{۲\ ۱۰}$ دری کے فروخت کر دی ہے اور دونی چند مختار عام مشتری نے تصدیق اس بات کا کیا اور میاں
سلطان بخش و عطرا گواہان نے بحلفاً فریقین کو شناخت کر کے گواہی دی لہذا

حکم

کہ اصل وثیقہ بیع نامہ مندرج کتاب نمبر ۱۴ و صفحہ نمبر ۳۷۴، ۳۷۵ مشتری کو واپس دیا جاوے
اور ایک نقل اس کی سررشتہ کلکٹری میں بھیجی جاوے اور ایک دیوانی میں

روز ۷ مارچ سنہ ۱۸۵۹ء

حلیہ گواہ

سلطان بخش ولد نور محمد قوم جٹ ساکن موضع چبہ سانولا
رنگ فراخ پیشانی چیچک کے داغ چہرہ پر
میش چشم فربہ اندام دراز قامت
ریش بروت سیاہ

عمر تخمیناً ۳۴ سال

حلیہ گواہ

عطرا ولد کرم بخش قوم جٹ ساکن چندربھان گندم رنگ
تنگ پیشانی صاف چہرہ بروت ریش وسمہ دار میش چشم
قد میانہ

عمر تخمیناً ۳۵ سال

—— No. 14 of 1859 ——

This deed of sale of 73 Ghumaons 2 kanals and 10 marlas of land in Mouzah Malawall Valued @ 73 Rs. was registered in my presence this 7th day of March 1859 between the hours of 1 and 2 O'clock P.m. ——

Proprietors—Bootah and Uttura and Jumeeta, sons of Azeezollah, and Khoonah son of Dullah and Nutha son of Gholaub, Rajpoot of Molawal ——

Purchasers—Mahant Gungadas, disciple of Narotumdas of Pindoree ——

Witnesses—Soolton Bux and Uttura

Signatures
Assistant Commisioner
and
Saddur Registrar

(Seal)

Registered کارڈل
منشی

James Cordell
Clerk

(In the margin)

نمبر ۲۵۹۵
بتاریخ ۲۸ فروری سنہ ۵۹ مطابق ۱۹ پھاگن سمت ۱۹۱۵

....

LII

(Judicial Stamp of the East India Company)[1]

This declaration, true and legal, by the deponents (each giving his name and descent) : Ghunna, son of Abdullah; Buta, Atra, Qadir and Jamita, sons of Azizullah; Natha and Karm Ilahi, sons of Gulab; and Chunnun, son of Naba; of the Rajput caste (subcaste. . .)is to the effect that :

Now, we (the deponents) in full possession of our faculties, have sold to the highly honourable *mahant,* Mahant Ganga Das, occupant of the *gaddi* of Pindori, and his successor-designate, the venerable Radhika Das, disciple of the said *mahant,* seventythree *ghumāons,* two *kanāls,* and ten *marlas*[2] of cultivated and culturable land (of which sixtyfour *ghumāons,* six *kanāls* and eight *marlas* are under cultivation; and eight *ghumāons,* four *kanāls* and two *marlas* are lying fallow), which at present stands revenue-free in the name of the venerable Mahant Ganga Das till such time as the Sacred Temple (establishment) endures. (This land) belonged to us with all the proprietary and hereditary rights and no one else had any share in it. The said land which is known as *chhamb,*[3] together with all the fruit-bearing and non-fruit-bearing trees with the following numbers, which has been measured and demarcated as having the boundaries given below by the exalted *Sāhibs*[4] according to their settlement as entered in the papers of the village *patwāri*[5] (has been sold by us) freely and without compulsion of any kind for the amount of seventythree rupees in the current *chihra-shāhī* coin, the half of which amounts to rupees thirtysix and eight annas. We have received this amount from the venerable *mahant* and appropriated it to our use.[6] If any of us, the co-parceners, or any one else, brings forward, at a subsequent time, any claims of ownership or hereditary right, we will hold ourselves responsible, and such a person will be false in the eyes of the law. On that account, these few words have been written and given by way of a sale-deed so that it serves as a *sanad* in the future.

Written on the 28th of February, A. D. 1859, corresponding to the 19th of Phagun, Saṁvat 1915, and the Fasli[7] year 1265.

Boundaries :

Eastern : adjoining the area of land in the village Chander Bhan;

Western : adjoining the land in Jattowal in the said *ilāqa;*

Southern : adjoining the land of Jattowal in the *ilāqa* of Talibpur;

Western : adjoining the land of Mallowal[8] (belonging) to the owners of the said village.

Signatures (of the vendors) :

1. Ghunna, son of Abdullah.
2. Buta, son of Azizullah.
3. Atra, son of Azizullah.
4. Qadir, son of Azizullah.
5. Jamita, son of Azizullah.
6. Natha, son of Gulab.
7. Karm Ilahi, son of Gulab.
8. Chunnun, son of Naba.

Attestations :

1. Witnessed by Sultan Bakhsh of Chander Bhan, in his own hand, (the attestation being) based on the oral statements of Lambardars[9] Ghunna and Buta of Mallowal.

2. Witnessed by Jassa Ram, Lambardar of village Kalijpur, (the attestation being) based on the oral statements of Ghunna, Buta and others, residents of Mallowal.

3. Witnessed by Faujdar Saroya. . . .

4. Witnessed by Lambardar Atra, resident of the village Chander Bhan.

5. Witnessed by Lambardar Karm Ilahi, resident of the village Chander Bhan.

6. Witnessed by Lambardar Karm Din, resident of the village Chander Bhan.

7. Witnesed by Gurditta, the *patwāri* of the village, resident of Talibpura (followed by signatures in *Tākri*).

8. Witnessed by Lambardar Karim Dad, in his own hand, resident of Jagatpur: "whatever is contained herein is true".

9. Witnessed by Lambardar Gurbakhsh, resident of. . . : "Whatever is contained herein is true".

10. Witnessed by Suhbat Singh, resident of . . .

11. Witnessed by Lambardar Sardar . . . in his own hand : "whatever is contained herein is true".
12. Witnessed by Lambardar Wali Dad, resident of Jagatpur (followed by signatures in Persian).

Note :—The *qata‘* numbers have been specified in the left corner of the lower half of the document.

Reverse : (in Urdu)

This deed of sale was registered in my presence between the hours of one and two o'clock p.m. when it was stated by Messrs. Buta, Atra and Jamita, sons of Aziz; Ghunna, son of Dulla; and Natha, son of Gulab; adults of the Rajput caste, and residents of Mallowal that they have sold seventythree *ghumāons,* two *kanāls* and ten *marlas* of land to Mahant Ganga Das, the *gaddi-nishīn* of Pindori, for the amount of seventythree rupees. Duni Chand, the general attorney[10] of the vendee, testified to this and witnesses Sultan Bakhsh and Atra deposed after having identified on oath the parties to this transaction. It is ordered, therefore, that the original deed of sale entered in Book No. 14 on pages 374, 375 should be handed back to the attorney of the vendee; one copy of this should be sent to the collectorate and another to the Diwani office.[11]

The 7th of March, A.D. 1859.

Description[12] :

1. Sultan Bakhsh son of Nur Muhammad, caste Jat, resident of village Chabba(?), with dark complexion, broad forehead, some pockmarks on the face, grey eyes, of stout build and tall stature and with dark whiskers. Aged approximately thirtyfour years.

2. Atra son of Karm Bakhsh, caste Jat, resident of Chander Bhan, with wheatish complexion, narrow forehead, clear face, dyed whiskers, grey eyes and of middle stature. Aged approximately thirtyfive years.

(English, as in the original, followed by) the signatures of the Assistant Commissioner and Sadar Registrar.

In the margin is an endorsement in the Persian script : No. 4595, dated the 28th of February, 1859, corresponding to the 19th of Phagun of Saṁvat 1915.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. This stamp of the East India Company was in use probably in many parts of the British Indian Empire. The use of Persian and Bengali, alongwith English, is interesting to note.

2. This is the first use of the term in this collection; but *marla* as a unit-area was in all probability known much earlier. Twenty *marlas* made one *kanāl.*

3. The name *chhamb* given to this piece of land indicates its quality or, perhaps, this land was near a swamp.

4. This refers to the British administrators and, by extension, to the Government of the East India Company.

5. After *muqaddam,* the *patwāri* was easily the most important person concerned with the village administration. "He was especially called upon to maintain records of the collection of the land-revenue from individual peasants and its payment to the authorities" (*The Agrarian System of Mughal India,* 134 ; see also 135). The office of the *patwāri* was a very old one and it was kept up by the British Indian Government as much as by the Sikh rulers.

6. This refers to the Company's rupee.

7. This mention of the *Fasli* year is quite unusual.

8. A small village, a little over one mile south of Pindori. The village formerly had Muslim population for the most part.

9. The Lamdardar (from *Numberdār*?) of the British times was the village headman and, therefore, the successor of the *muqaddam* of the Mughal times.

10. The word used in the original is *mukhtār-i-ʿām.*

11. The term *dīwāni* in the context of the document refers to the office or the department.

12. The old practice of noting down the appearance of the deponents is kept up by the British administrators!

APPENDICES

A. The Genealogical Table of the Pindori Gaddi

Shri Ramananda
Shri Anantananda
Shri Krishna Das Payahari
Bhagwanji (first *mahant* who sat on the Pindori *gaddi*) (d. *ca.* 1622 A.D.)
Narainji (d. A.D. 1659).
Mahant Anandghan (Period on the *gaddi*: A.D. 1659-1676).
Mahant Hari Ram (A.D. 1676-1718).
Mahant Sukh Nidhan (A.D. 1718-1727).
Mahant Ram Das (A.D. 1727-1761).
Mahant Ram Krishna Das (A.D. 1761-1778).
Mahant Keshav Das (A.D. 1778-1807).
Mahant Narotam Das (A.D. 1807-1843).
Mahant Ganga Das (A.D. 1843-1861).
Mahant Radhika Das (A.D. 1861-1887).
Mahant Brahm Das (A.D. 1887-1908).
Mahant Ram Das (A.D. 1908-).

B. The Turkish Duodenary Cycle

1.	Sīchqān-īl	(The mouse year)
2.	Ūd-īl	(The cow year)
3.	Pārs-īl	(The leopard year)
4.	Tawishqān-īl	(The hare year)
5.	Lūi-īl	(The crocodile year)
6.	Īlān-īl	(The snake year)
7.	Yūnt-īl	(The horse year)
8.	Qūi-īl	(The sheep year)
9.	Bīchi-īl	(The monkey year)
10.	Takhāqūi-īl	(The fowl year)
11.	Īt-īl	(The dog year)
12.	Tungūz-īl	(The hog year)

Note: There are slight variations in the names of the years given by various scholars. The small discretion that we have used may perhaps be allowed. The Turkish cycle is called *Muchal* in Uighur (a dialect of Turkish) and *duwāzdah sāl-i-Turkī* in Persian. The year begins and ends in spring and when a cycle of twelve years is completed, it begins again.

C. Names of Hindi Months

Original form	*Form in popular usage in the Punjab*
Chaitra	Chet, Chetar
Vaishākha	Baisākh, Wasākh
Jyeshtha	Jeth
Āshādh	Hār
Shrāvana	Sāwan, Saun
Bhādrapada	Bhādon, Bhādron
Āshvina	Asūj, Asu.
Kārttika	Kattak, Katta
Agrahāyana	Maghar
Pausha	Poh
Mārgashisha	Māgh, Māh
Phālguna	Phāgun, Phagan

D. Chronology

1707 :	March 3	Death of Aurangzeb
1707 :	May	Accession of Bahadur Shah
1712 :	March 29	Accession of Jahandar Shah
1713 :	February 11	Accession of Farrukhsiyar
1719 :	September 28	Accession of Muhammad Shah
1726 :		Zakariya Khan is appointed Governor of Lahore
1739 :		Invasion of Nadir Shah
1745 :	July 1	Death of Zakariya Khan
1746 :	January	Yahiya Khan is appointed Governor of Lahore
1747 :	March 21	Shah Nawaz Khan replaces Yahiya Khan
1748 :	January 12	Invasion by Ahmad Shah Abdali
	March 11	Battle of Manupur; Ahmad Shah Abdali is defeated
	April 11	Muin-ul-Mulk is appointed Governor of Lahore; Shah Nawaz Khan is appointed Governor of Multan
	April 15	Death of Muhammad Shah
	June 2	Ahmad Shah ascends the throne at Delhi
1750 :		Ahmad Shah Abdali obtains revenues of the Chahar Mahal
		Jai Singh Kanhaiya strikes his own seal.
1751-52 :		The Sikhs sack the Bari Doab.
1752 :	March 6	Ahmad Shah Abdali defeats Muin-ul-Mulk, then reinstals him on his own behalf as Governor at Lahore

1752 :	May 2	Hukumat Singh gives a land grant at Kahnuwan in his own authority
1753 :	November 4	Muin-ul-Mulk dies; Mughlani Begum, his widow, becomes *de facto* Governor at Lahore
1754 :	June 2	Ahmad Shah, the Mughal Emperor, is deposed, and Alamgir II ascends the throne
	September	Mughlani Begum is ousted by Momin Khan
1755 :	January 17	Hukumat Singh issues another order at Kahnuwan
	February	Mughlani Begum regains power
	July	Khwaja Ubedullah becomes supreme at Lahore
1756 :	April	Adina Beg Khan secures the Governorship of Lahore from the Delhi Authority
	October	Adina Beg's deputy at Lahore is ousted by Khwaja Ubedullah
	December	Ahmad Shah Abdali invades India
1757 :	April	Ahmad Shah Abdali appoints his son Timur Shah to the Governorship of Lahore
1758 :		The Marathas gain control of Lahore
	April	Adina Beg is appointed Governor of Lahore by the Marathas
		Jai Singh Kanhaiya and Jassa Singh Ramgarhia fight a battle against Adina Beg at Amritsar

	September	Adina Beg dies
1759 :	October	Ahmad Shah Abdali invades India
	November 29	Alamgir II is assassinated
1760 :		Shah Alam ascends the throne
1761 :	January 14	Battle of Panipat
	March 22	Gaura Singh confirms a land grant at Kahnuwan in his own authority
	April 26	Khwaja Ubedullah is given the charge of Lahore
	November	The Khwaja is worsted by the Sikhs
1762 :	February 5	The *Ghallughara* or the Great Massacre of the Sikhs by Ahmad Shah
	October 17	Ahmad Shah Abdali's failure against the Sikhs around Amritsar
	December 12	Kabuli Mal is appointed Governor of Lahore
1764 :	November	Ahmad Shah moves to Lahore to suppress the Sikhs
1765 :	March	The pitched but indecisive battle of the Sutlej between Ahmad Shah Abdali and the Sikhs
		Jai Singh Kanhaiya and Jassa Singh Ramgarhia occupy the country around Batala
	May	The Sikhs occupy Lahore and strike their own coin
1766-67		Ahmad Shah Abdali invades the Punjab; he fails to get himself recognized by the Sikhs

		who are in occupation of territories in three or four Doabs
1767 :		The Afghan Governor of Lahore is ousted by the Sikhs
1768 :	April 5	Gaura Singh issues another *parwāna* at Kahnuwan
1769 :		Most of the Upper Bari Doab in occupation of the Sikh Sardars
1770 :		Ahmad Shah Abdali's abortive invasion of the Punjab; the Sikhs supreme in most of the Punjab
		Jassa Singh Ramgarhia exacts tribute from the Kangra hill states
1773 :		Jai Singh grants half a village to the *mahant* of Pindori
1774 :		Jai Singh and Charhat Singh support Ranjit Dev of Jammu against Brij Raj Dev who is supported by the Bhangis
1775 :		Jai Singh supports Hakikat Singh's brother Tara Singh against the Bhangis to retain Pathankot for Tara Singh
1776 :		Jai Singh's son, Gurbakhsh Singh, captures the fort of Kangra
		Jai Singh expels Jassa Singh Ramgarhia from the Upper Bari Doab
1777-83 :		Jai Singh at the height of his power; asserts his suzerainty over the neighbouring Hill Chiefs and clashes with Mahan Singh

1785 :		Jai Singh's son Gurbakhsh Singh is killed in a battle near Batala fought against Mahan Singh, Jassa Singh Ramgarhia and Sansar Chand Katoch of Kangra; Batala is occupied by Jassa Singh Ramgarhia
1787 :		Jai Singh is unsuccessful in his attempt at recovering Batala
1788 :		Batala is in all probability recovered by Jai Singh
	May 21	Jai Singh orders the *guzarbāns* of the ferries of the Beas to allow free passage for the goods of the *mahants* of Pindori
1789 :	October 19	Amar Singh Bagga of Sujanpur grants twentyfour *ghumāons* of revenue-free land to Mahant Keshav Das
1793 :		Jai Singh dies, leaving Sada Kaur (Gurbaksh Singh's widow and Ranjit Singh's mother-in-law) supreme in his territories
1798 :	February 28	Sada Kaur confirms the old Mughal grant of revenue-free land in Kahnuwan held by the *mahants* of Pindori
1799 :		Sada Kaur entertains Ranjit Singh at Batala and assists him with an army under her personal command to occupy Lahore
	July 6	Ranjit Singh becomes the master of Lahore

1800 :		Sada Kaur confirms the old grants of four revenue-free villages held by the *mahants* of Pindori
1803 :		Sada Kaur gives a fifth village in grant to the *mahants* of Pindori
1807 :		Ranjit Singh takes Pathankot and leaves to Tara Singh, its former master, a *jāgīr*
1808 :		Sada Kaur confirms two more grants of revenue-free land upon the *mahants*
1815 :		Ranjit Singh conquers Nurpur; confirms an old grant of 125 *ghumāons* in Kirī Kalan upon Mahant Narotam Das
1818 :		Ranjit Singh appoints Moti Ram to Nurpur
1819 :		Prince Sher Singh receives the *pargana* of Dinanagar in *jāgīr*
1821 :		Prince Sher Singh gets the *pargana* of Batala and other *jāgīrs* of Sada Kaur
1823 :		Prince Kharak Singh confirms an old grant in Kathlaur on the *mahants* of Pindori
		Tara Singh gives a grant in Batala to the Pindori *mahants*
1839 :	June 27	Ranjit Singh's death and Kharak Singh's accession
1840 :	November 5	Kharak Singh dies; Naunihal Singh ascends the throne but dies on the same day
1841 :	January 27	Sher Singh ascends the throne
1843 :	September 15	Sher Singh is assassinated
	September 20	Accession of Dalip Singh

1845 :	December	War with the English
1846 :	February 20	Maharaja Dalip Singh surrenders to the Governor-General
	December 16	The Council of Regency is formed
1849 :		The second war with the English
	March 11	Capitulation of the Sikh armies
	March 29	The Kingdom of Lahore is annexed to the British Indian Empire

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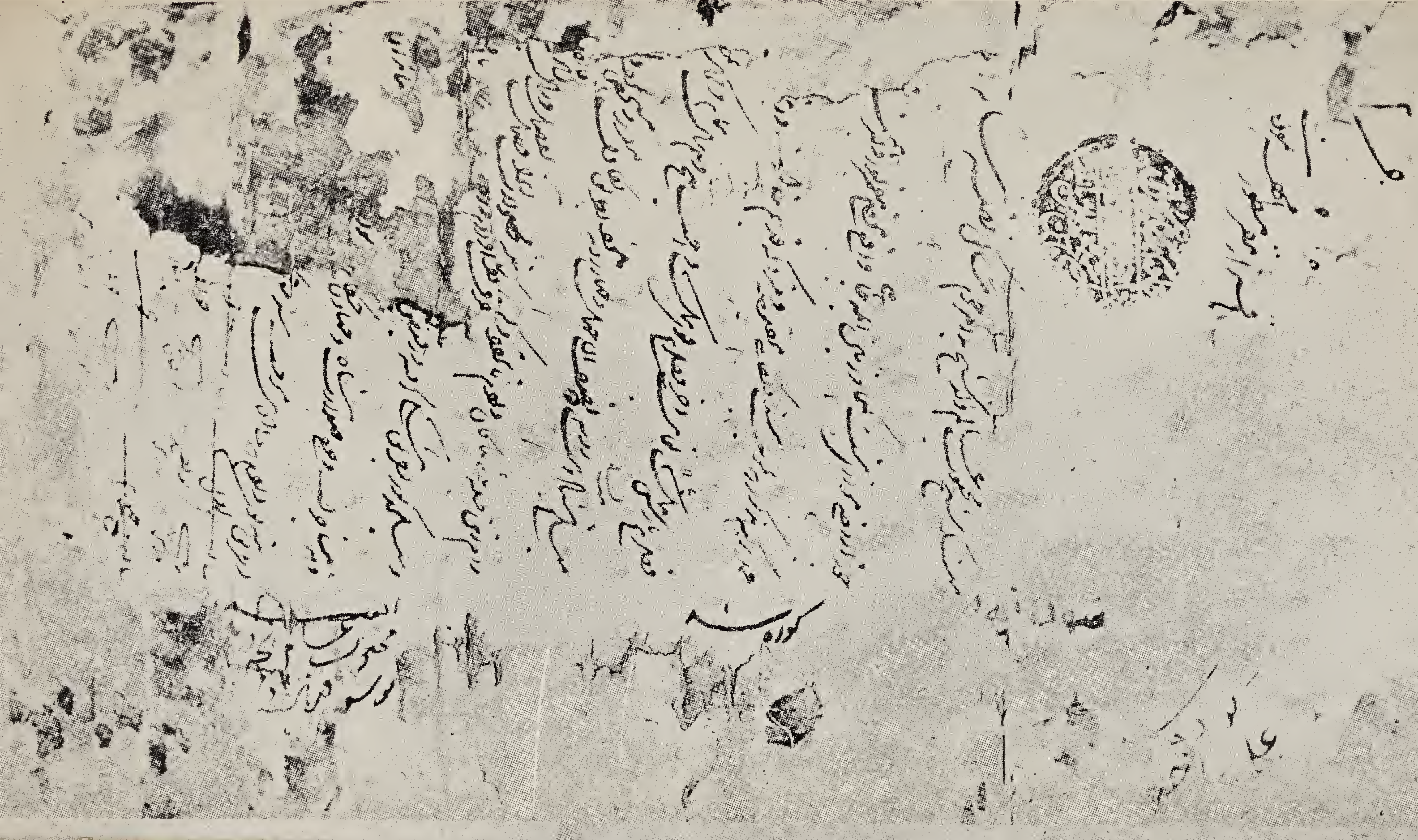

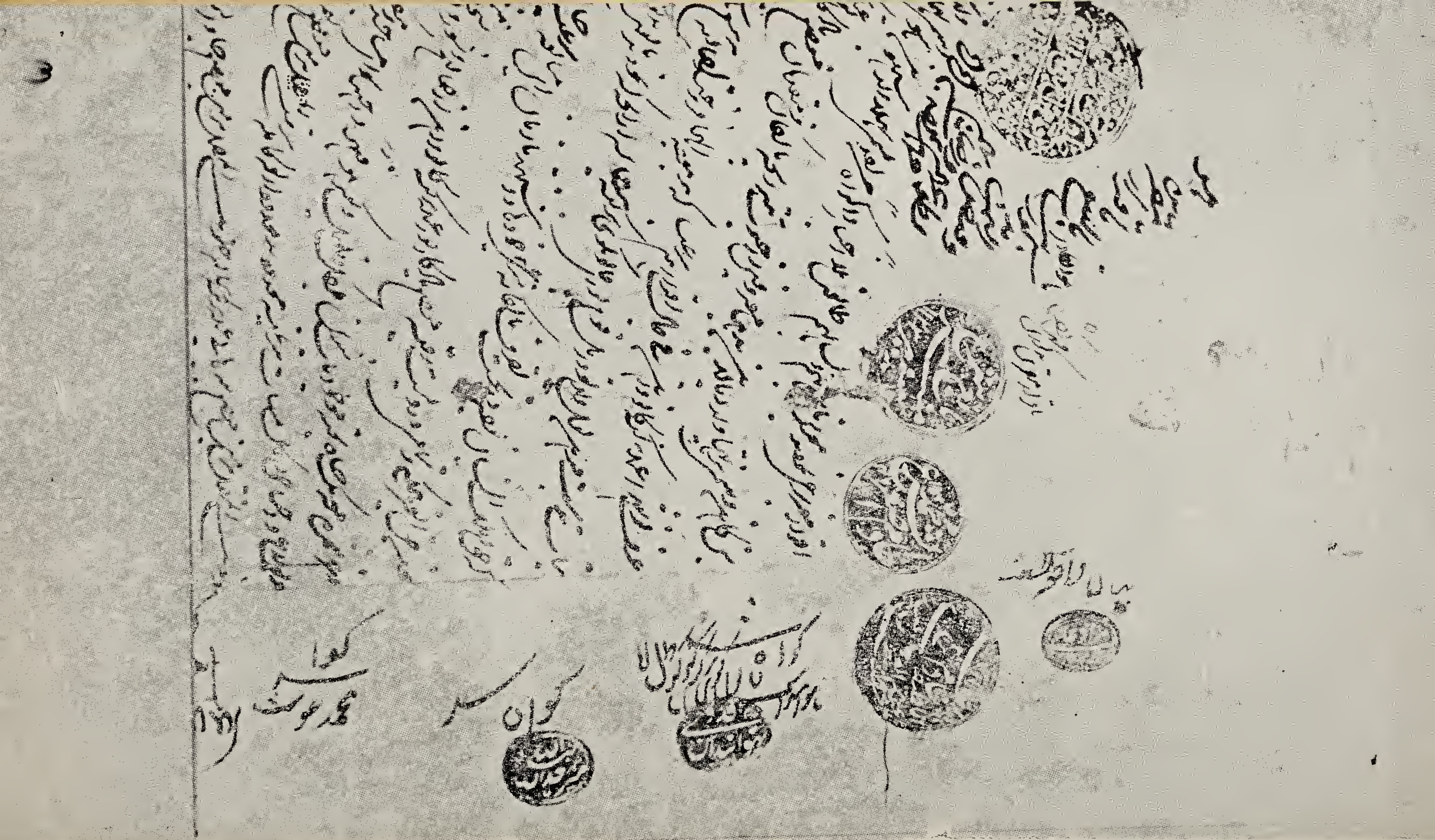

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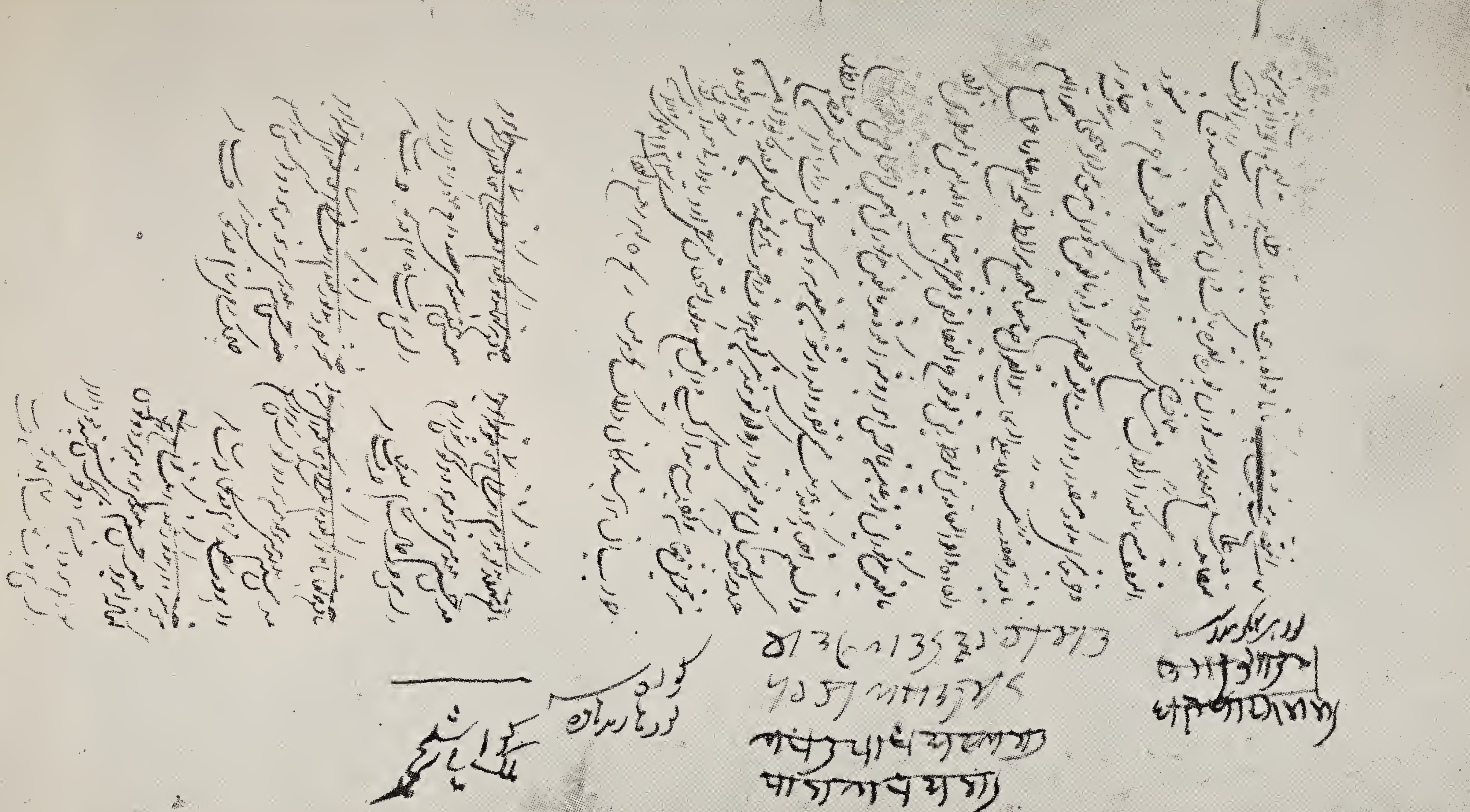

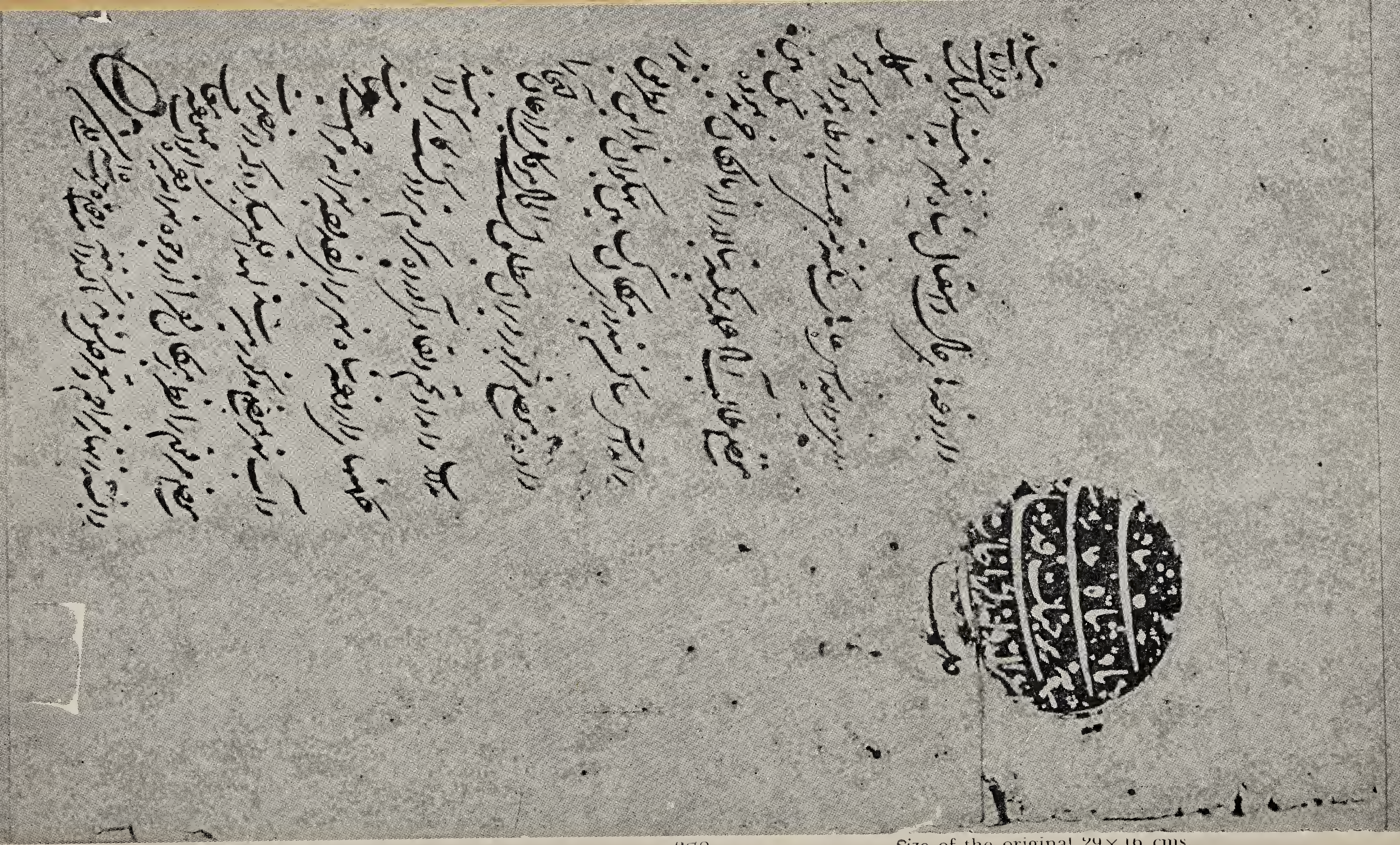

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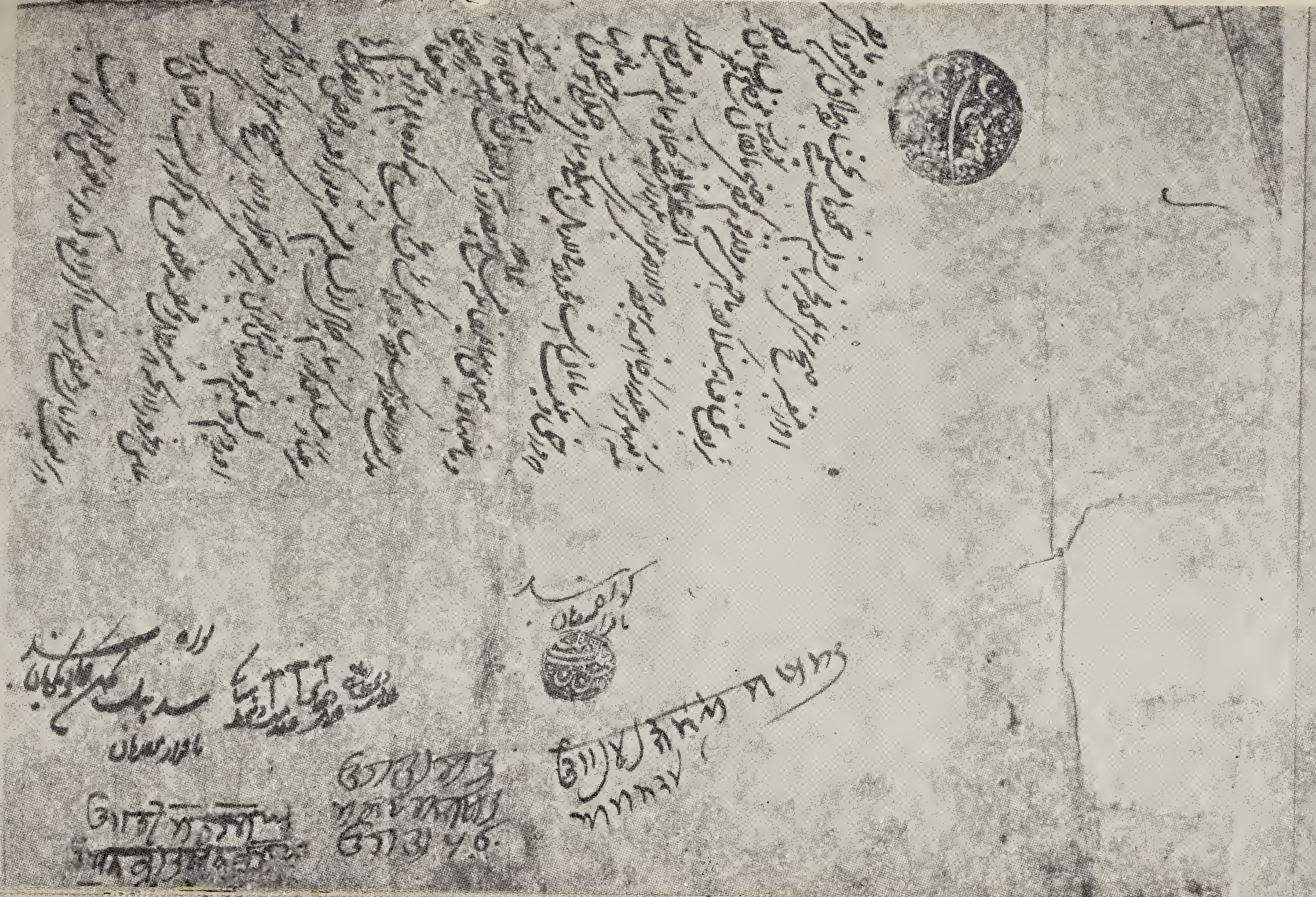

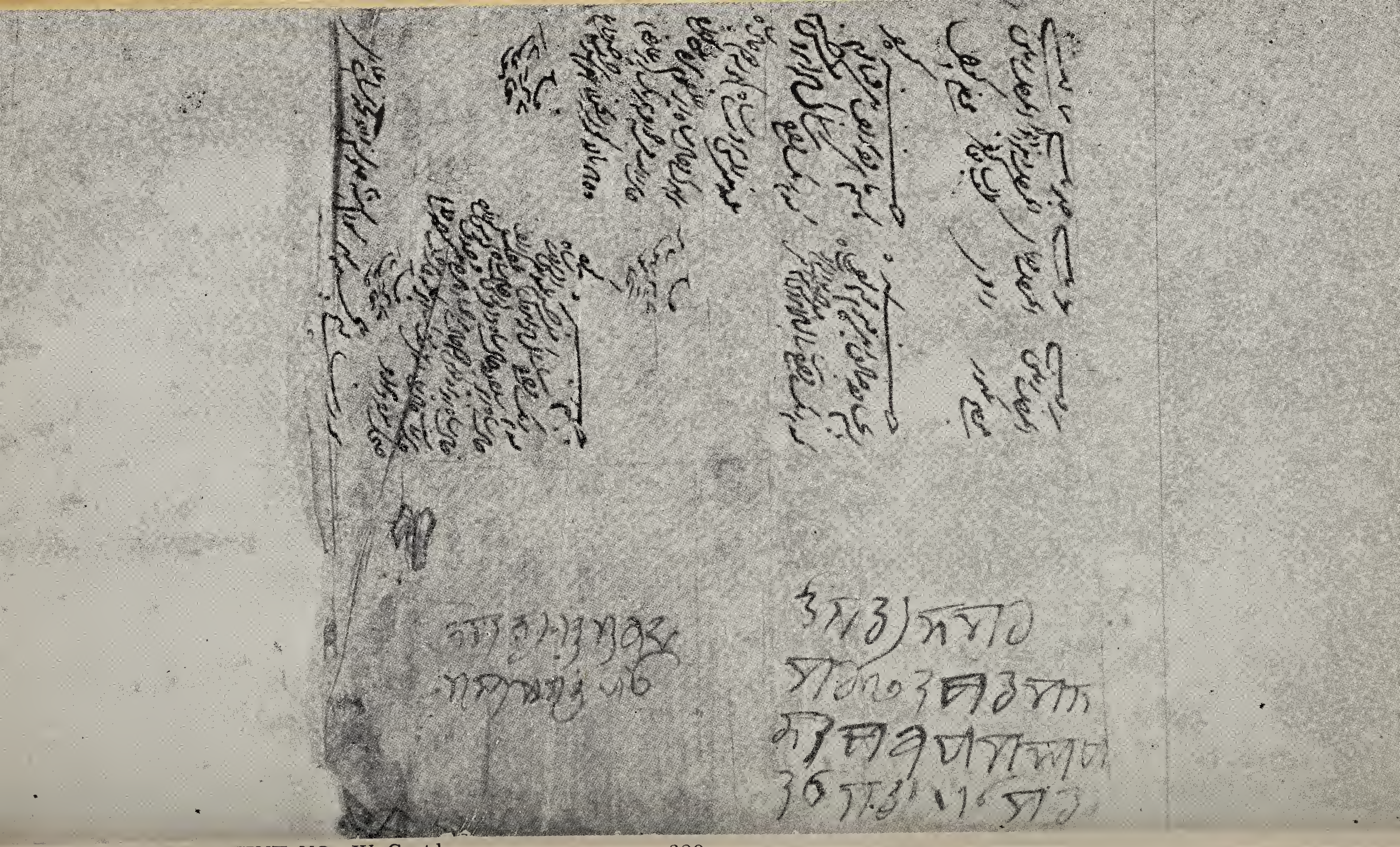

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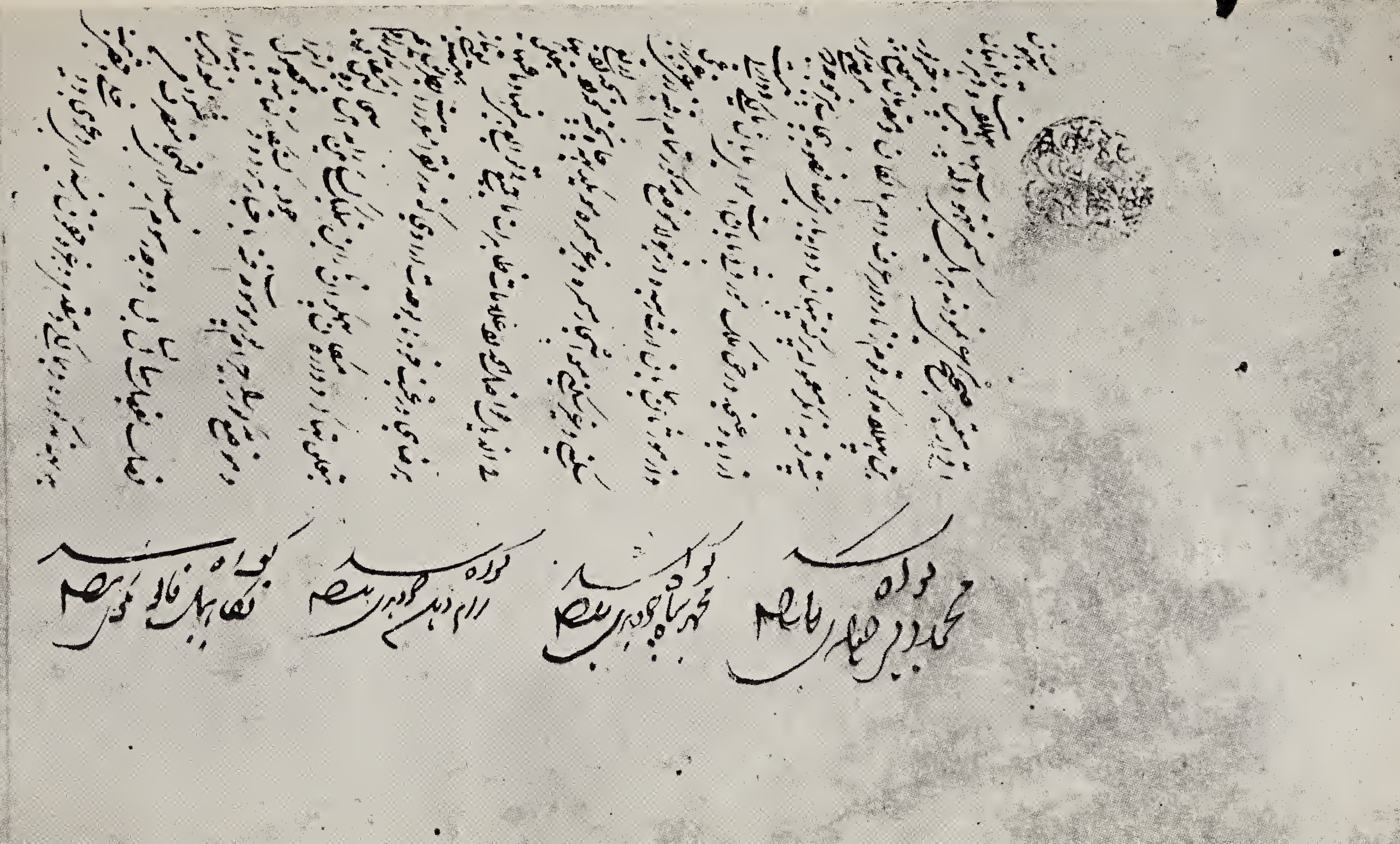

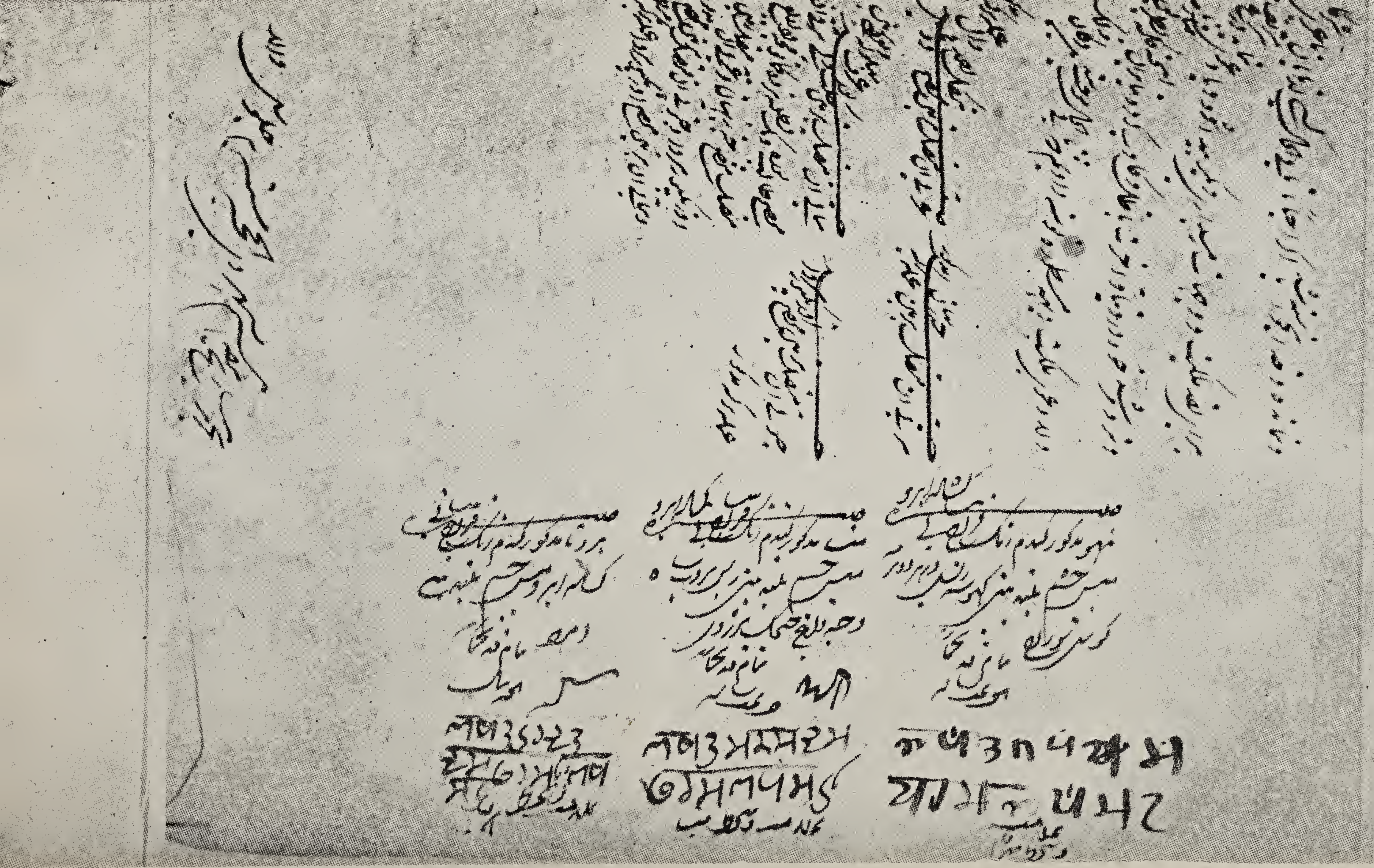

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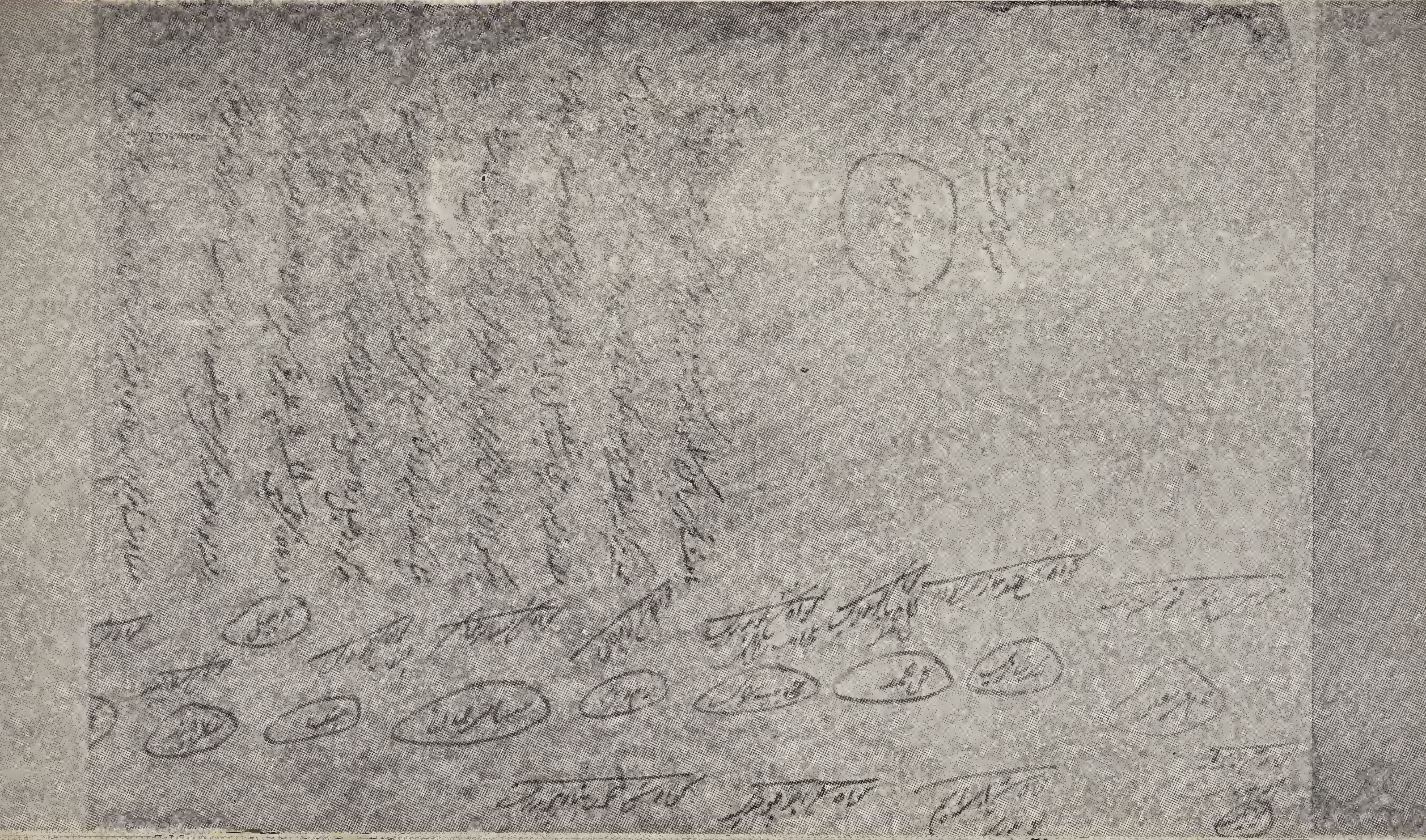

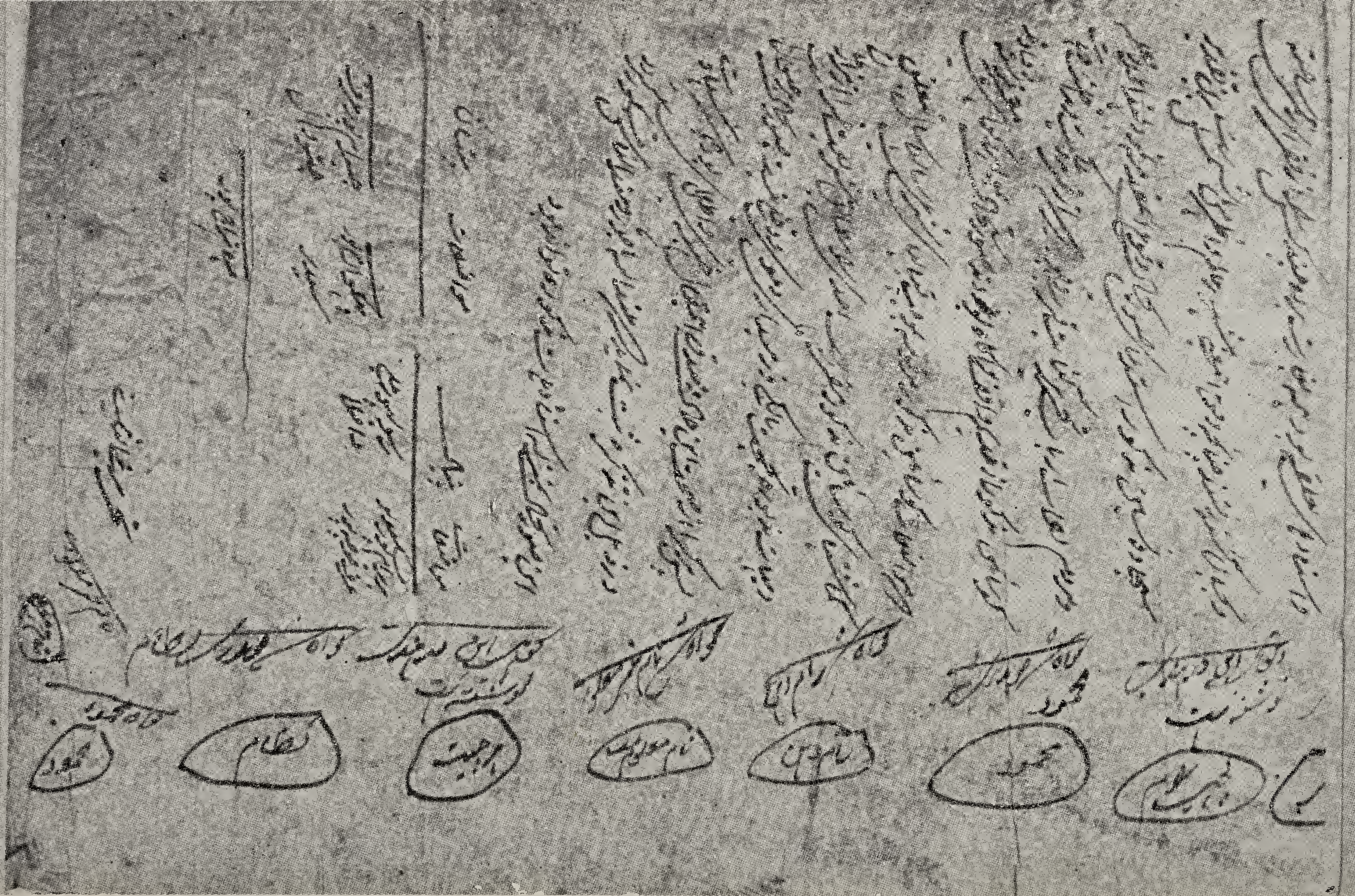

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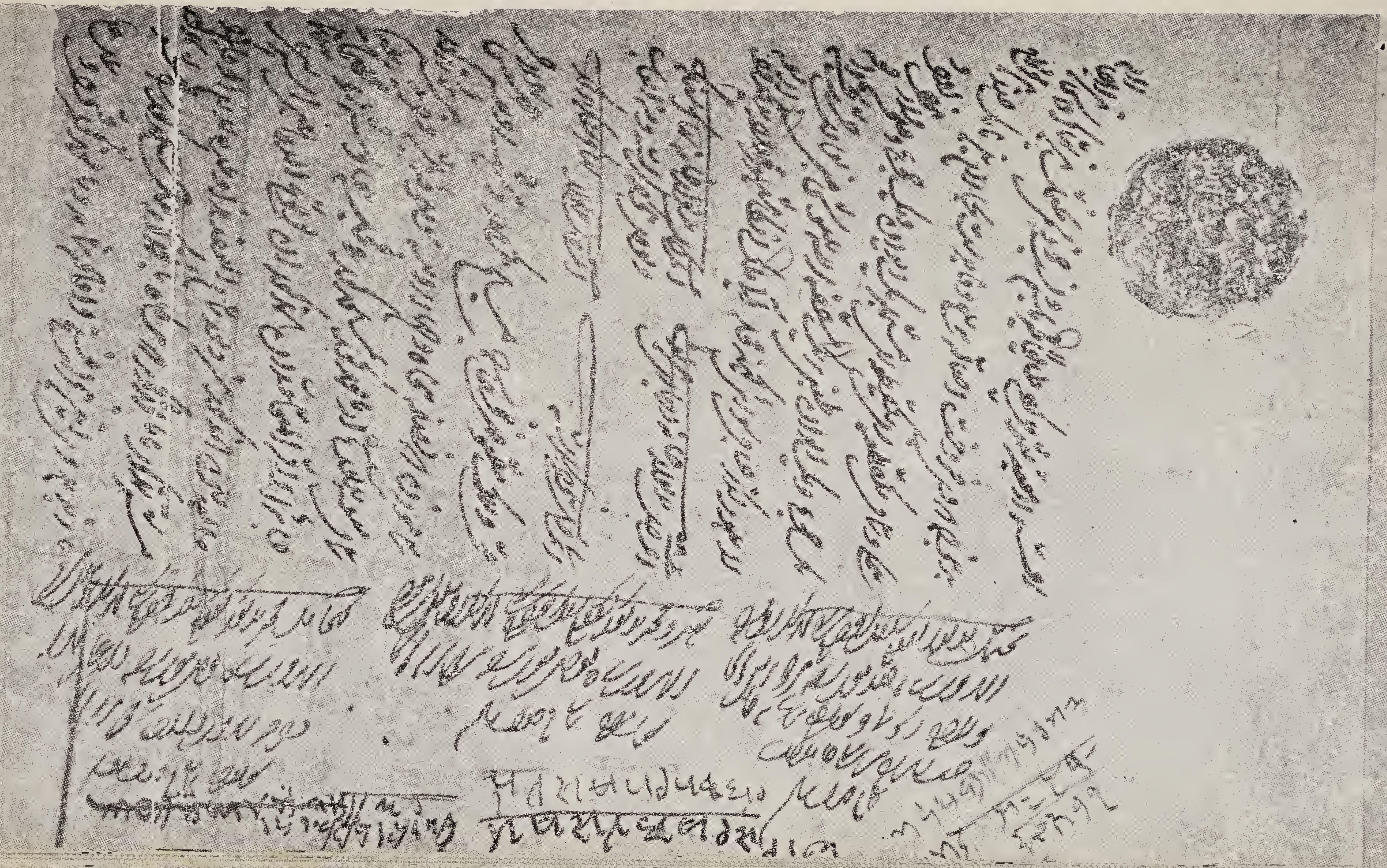

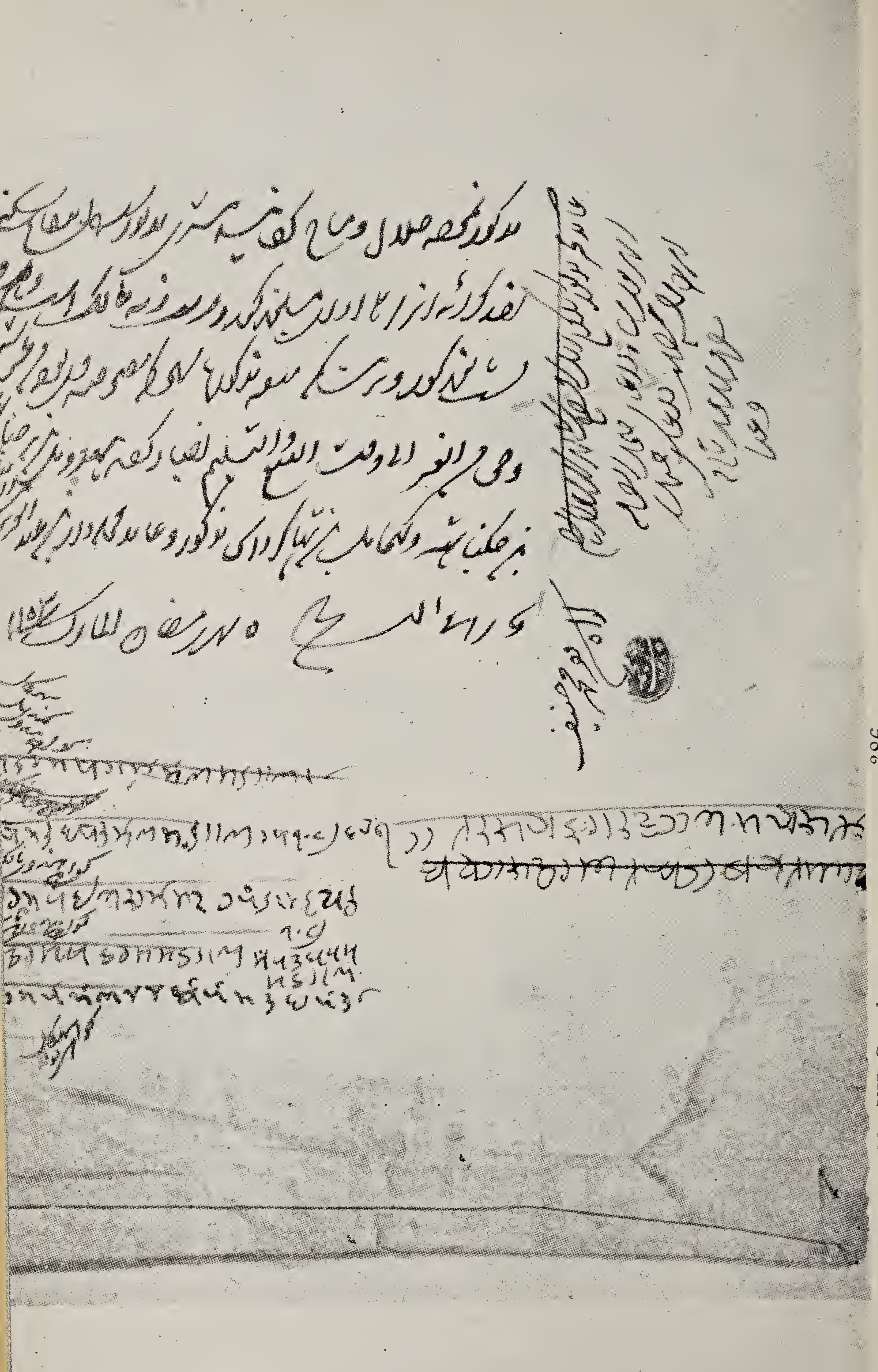

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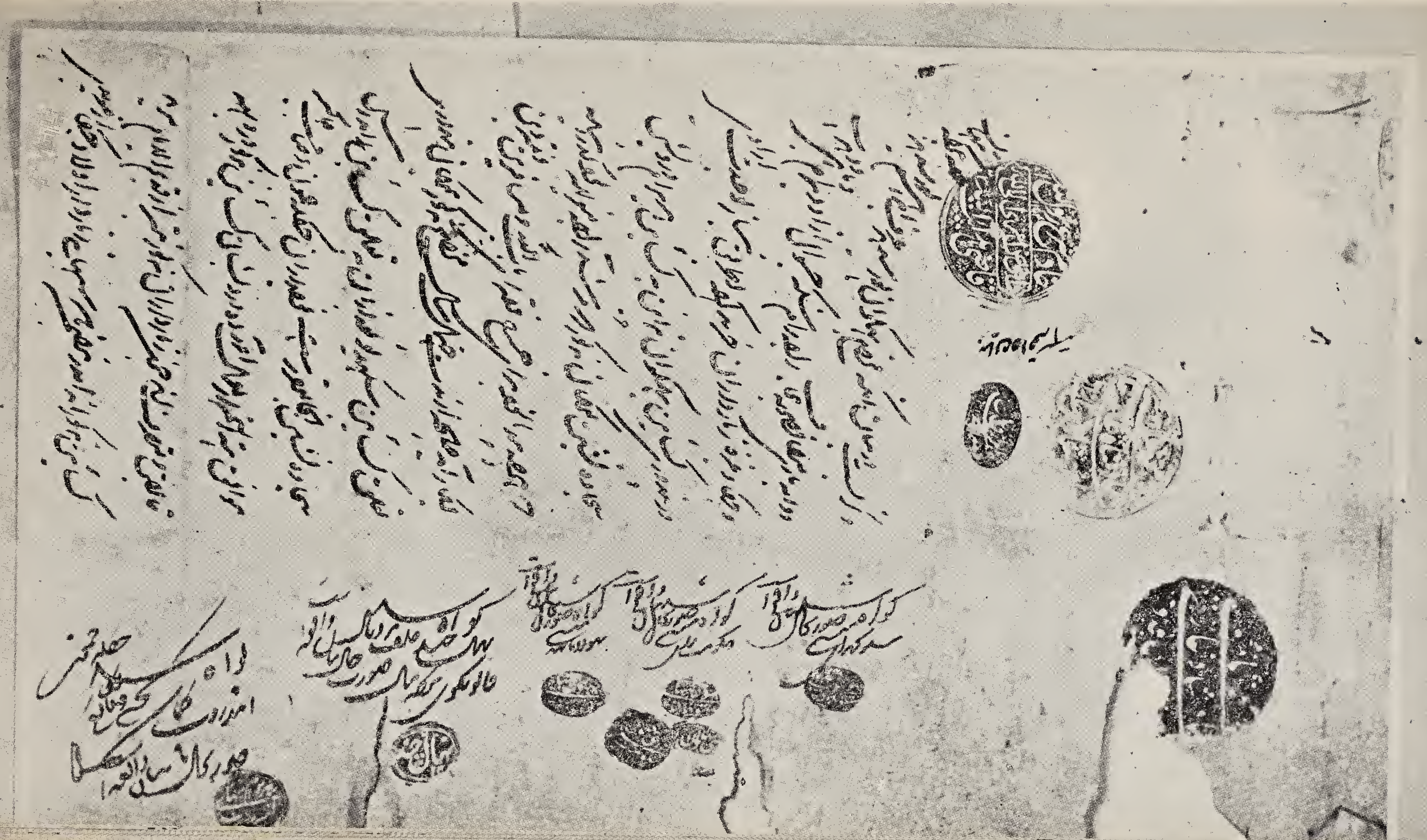

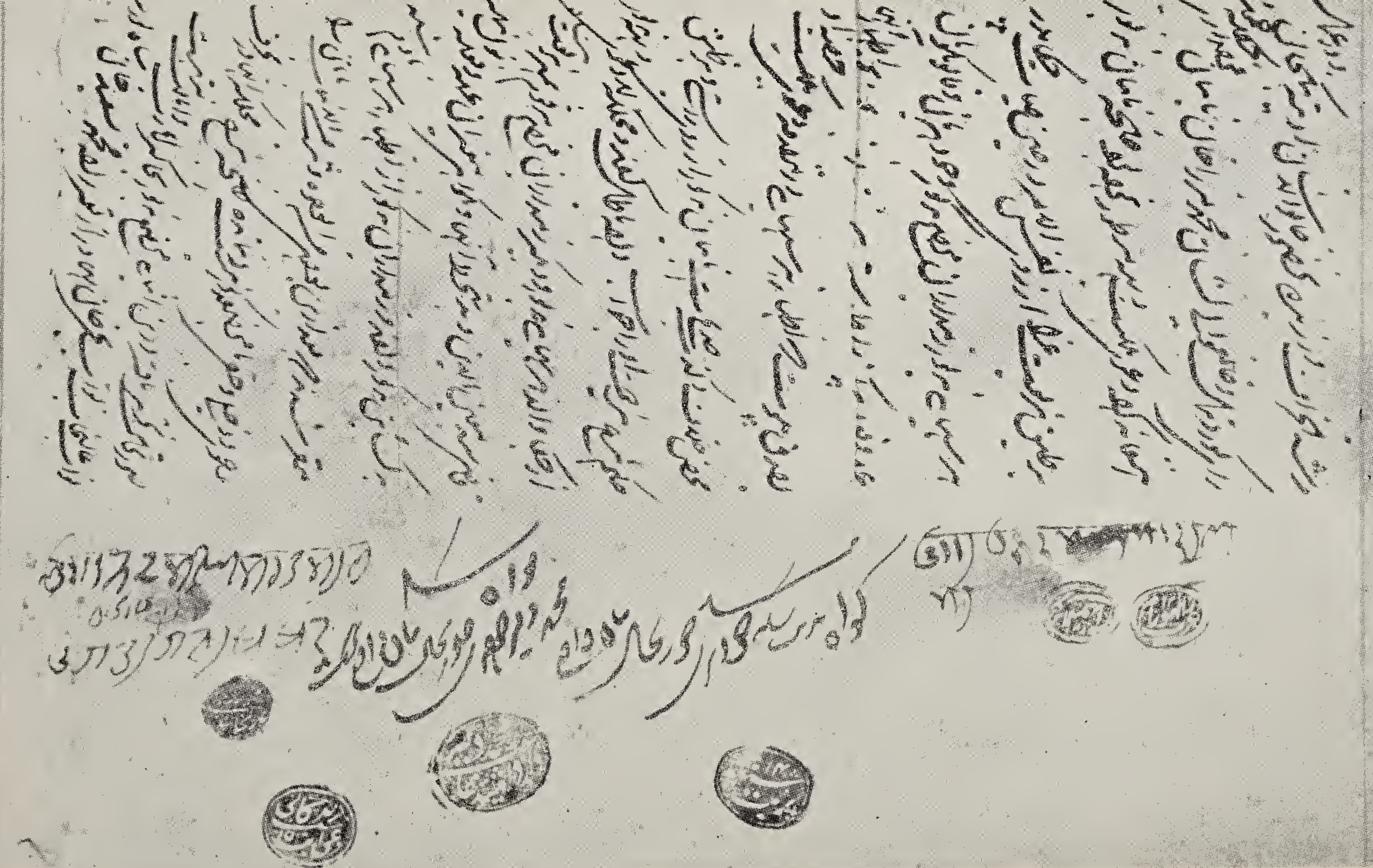

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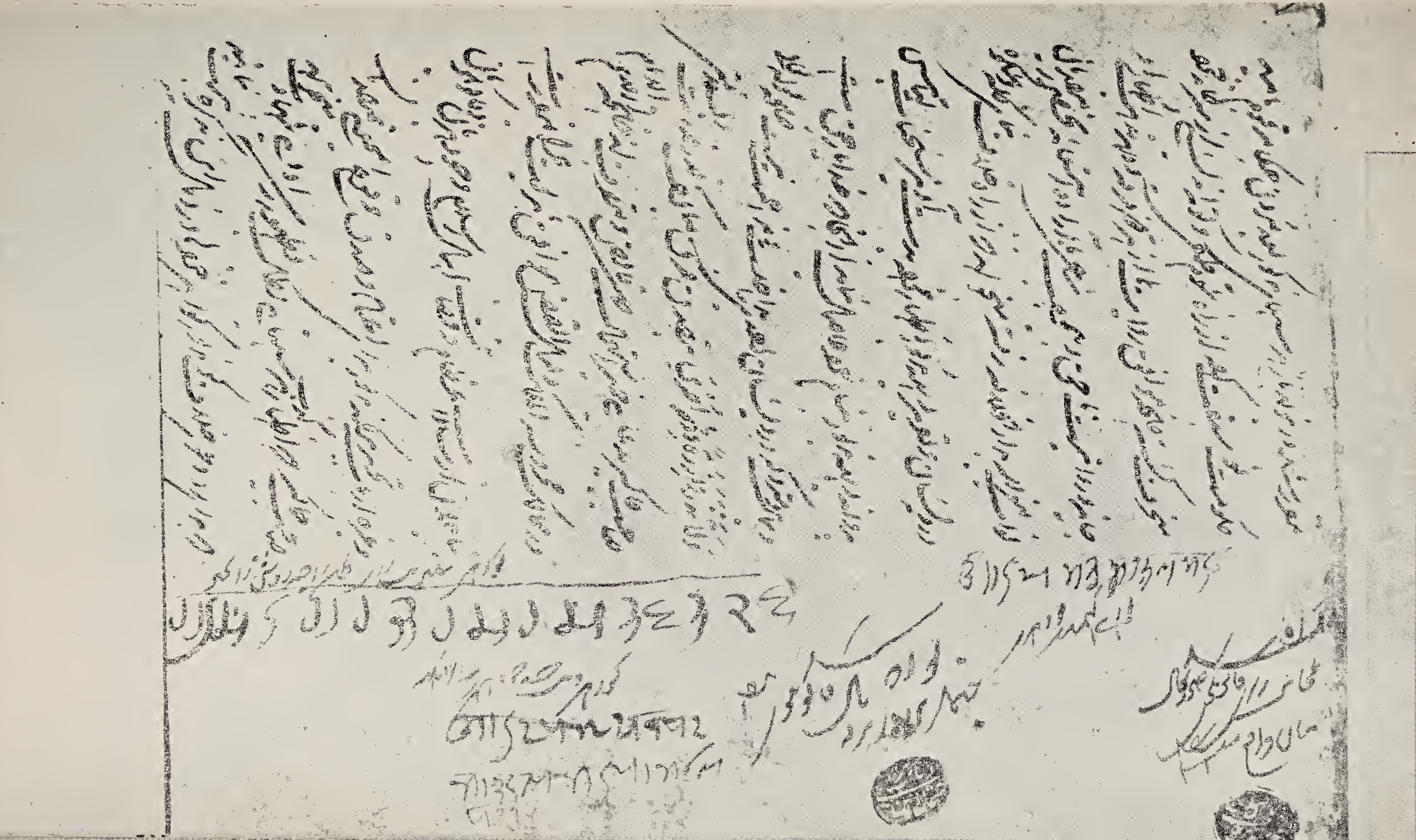

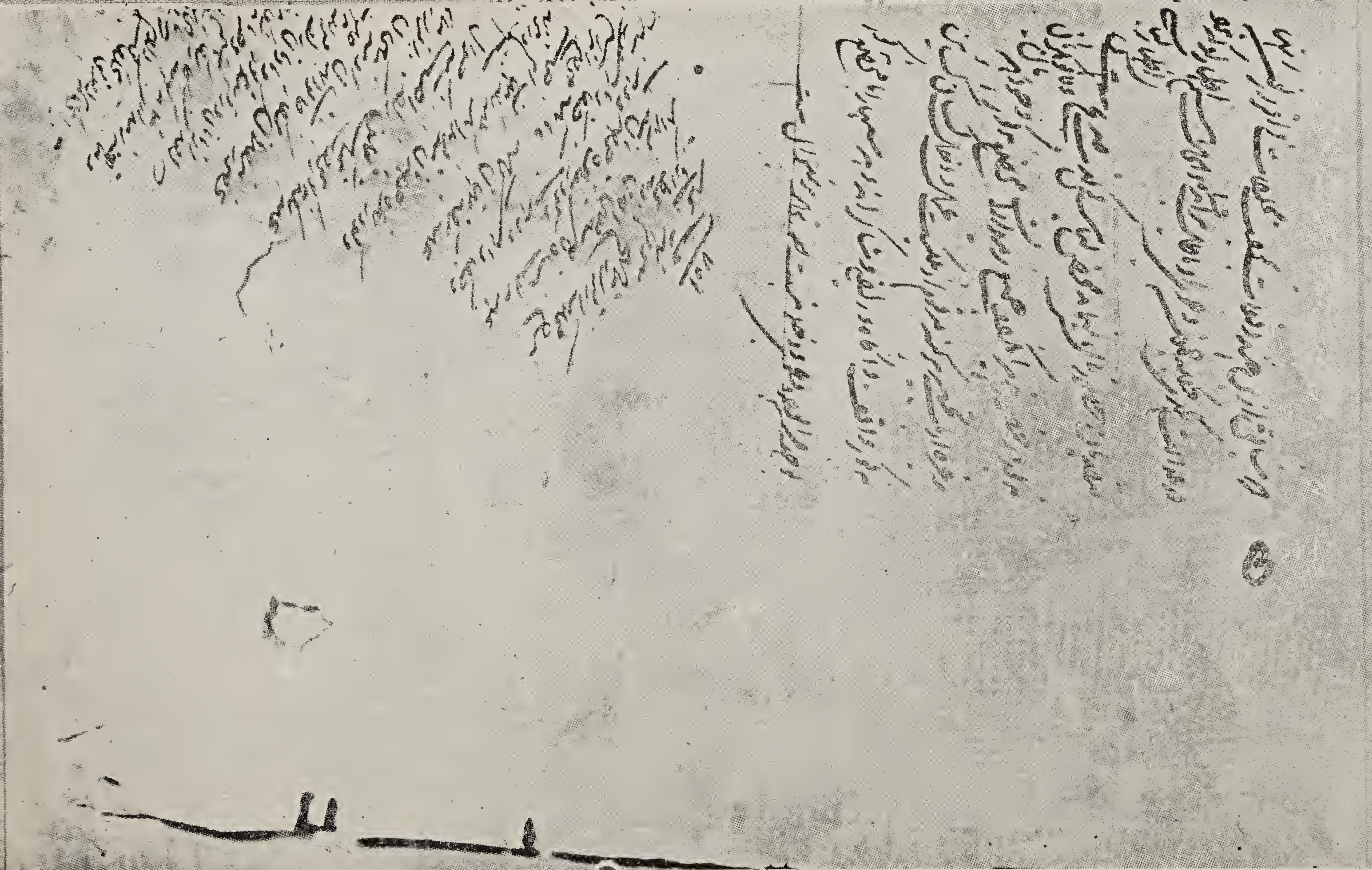

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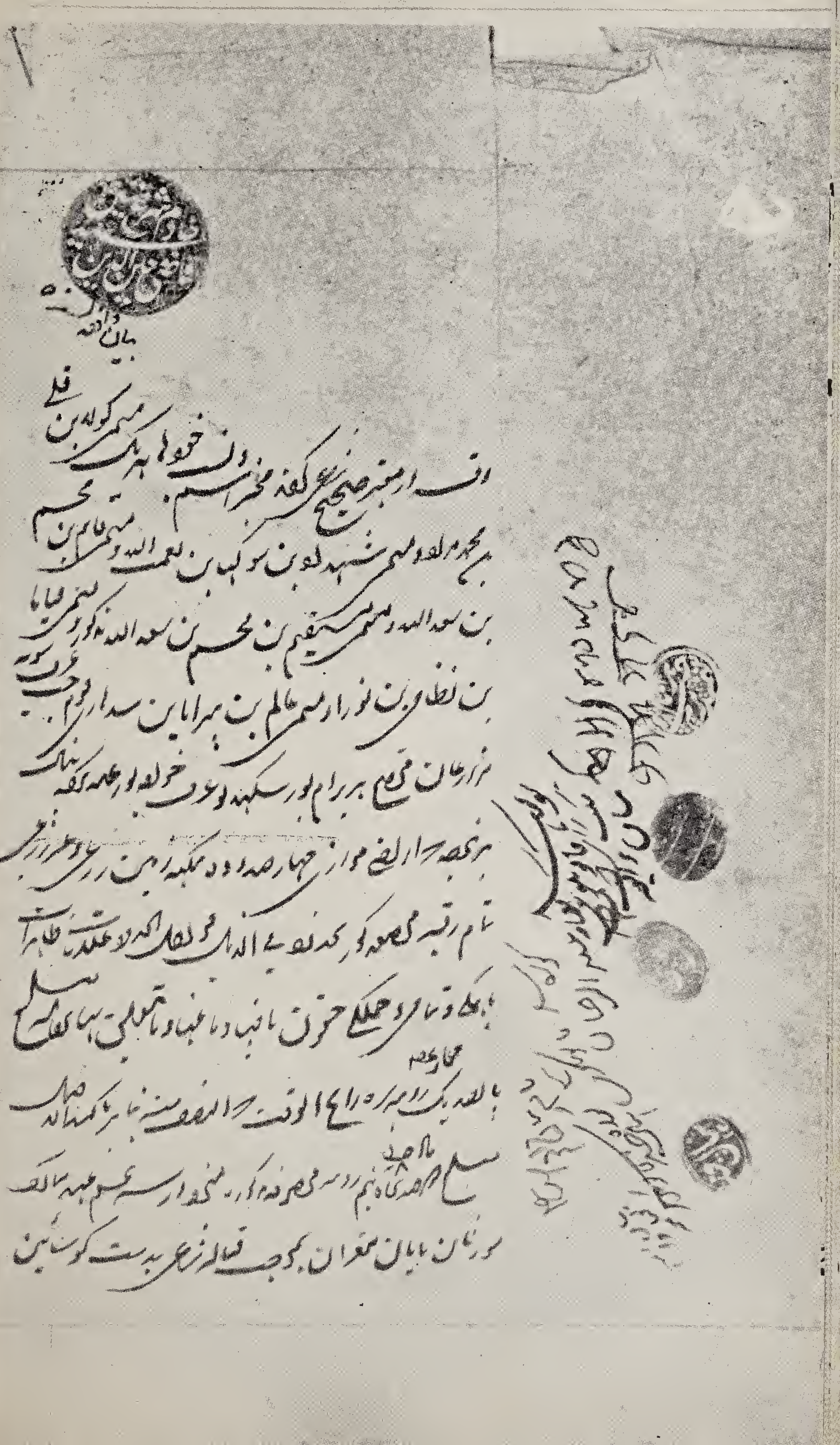

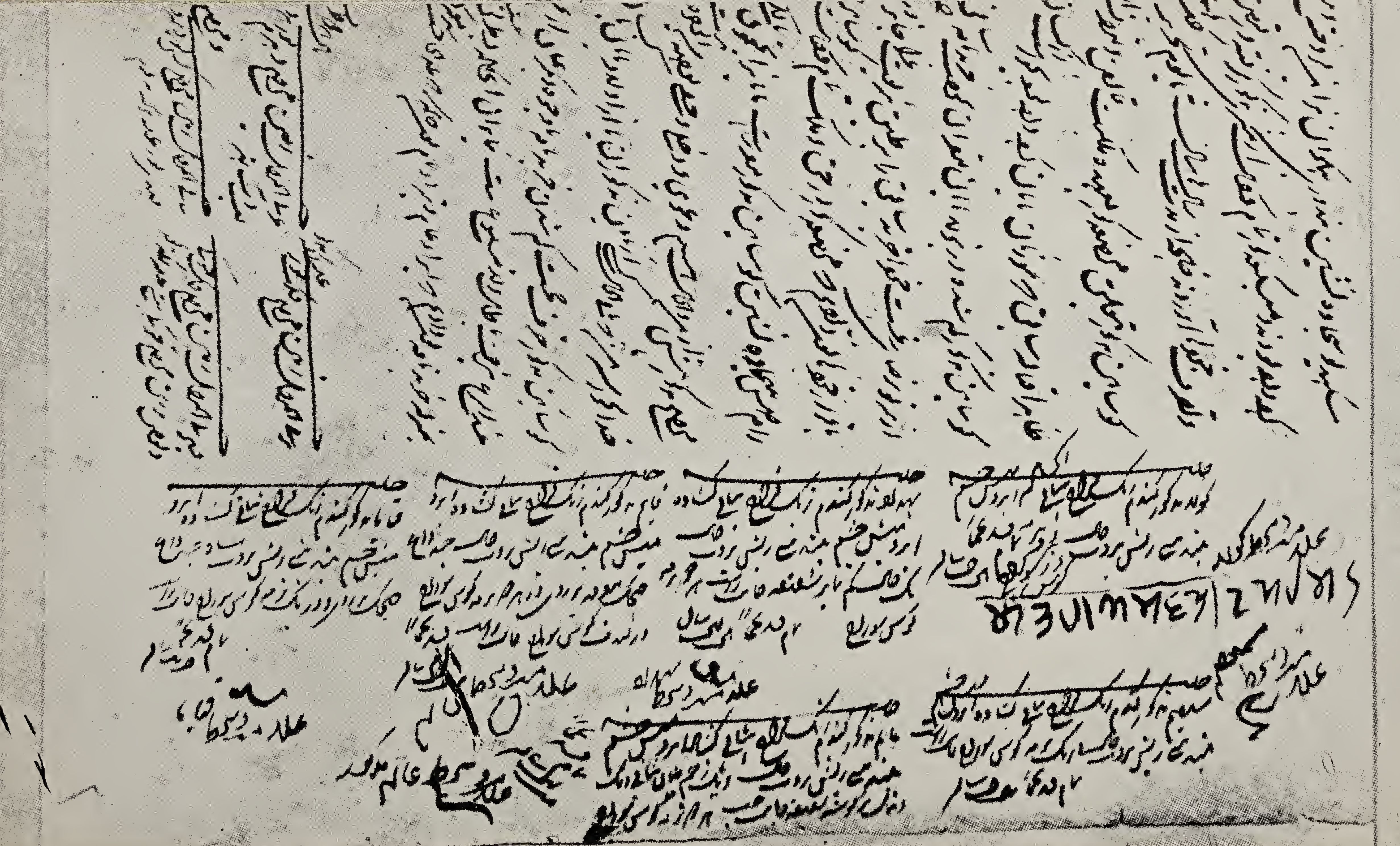

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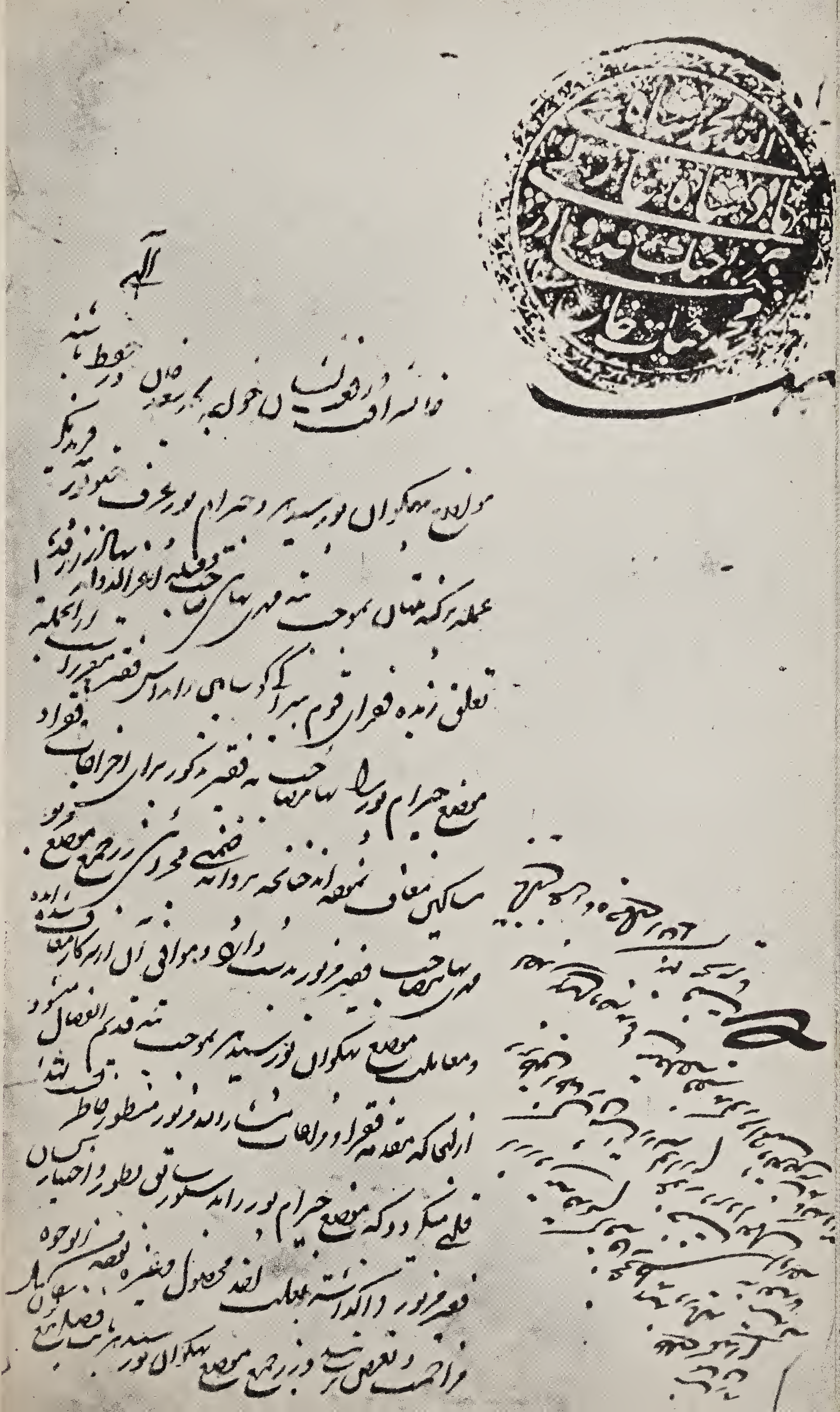

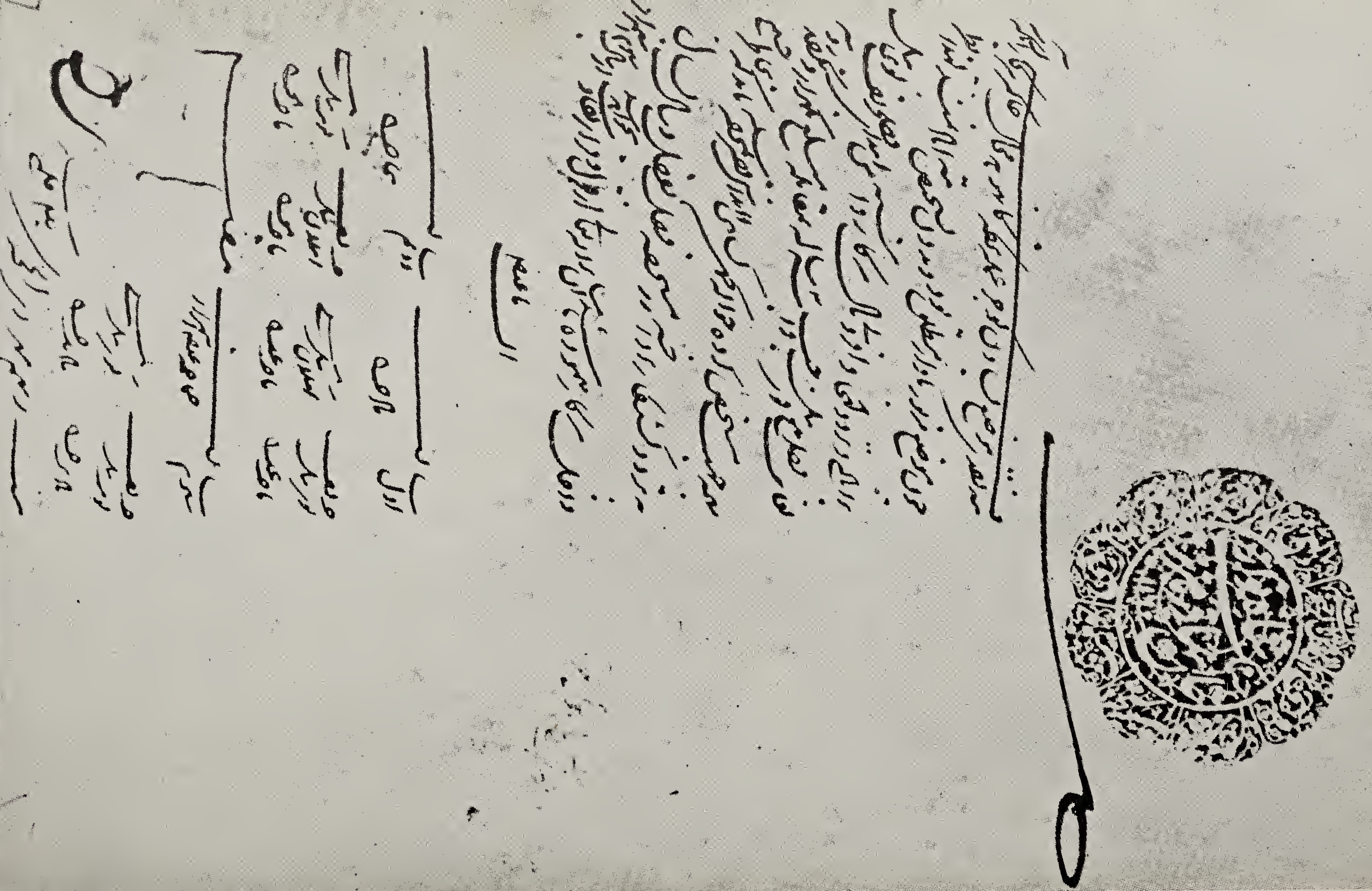

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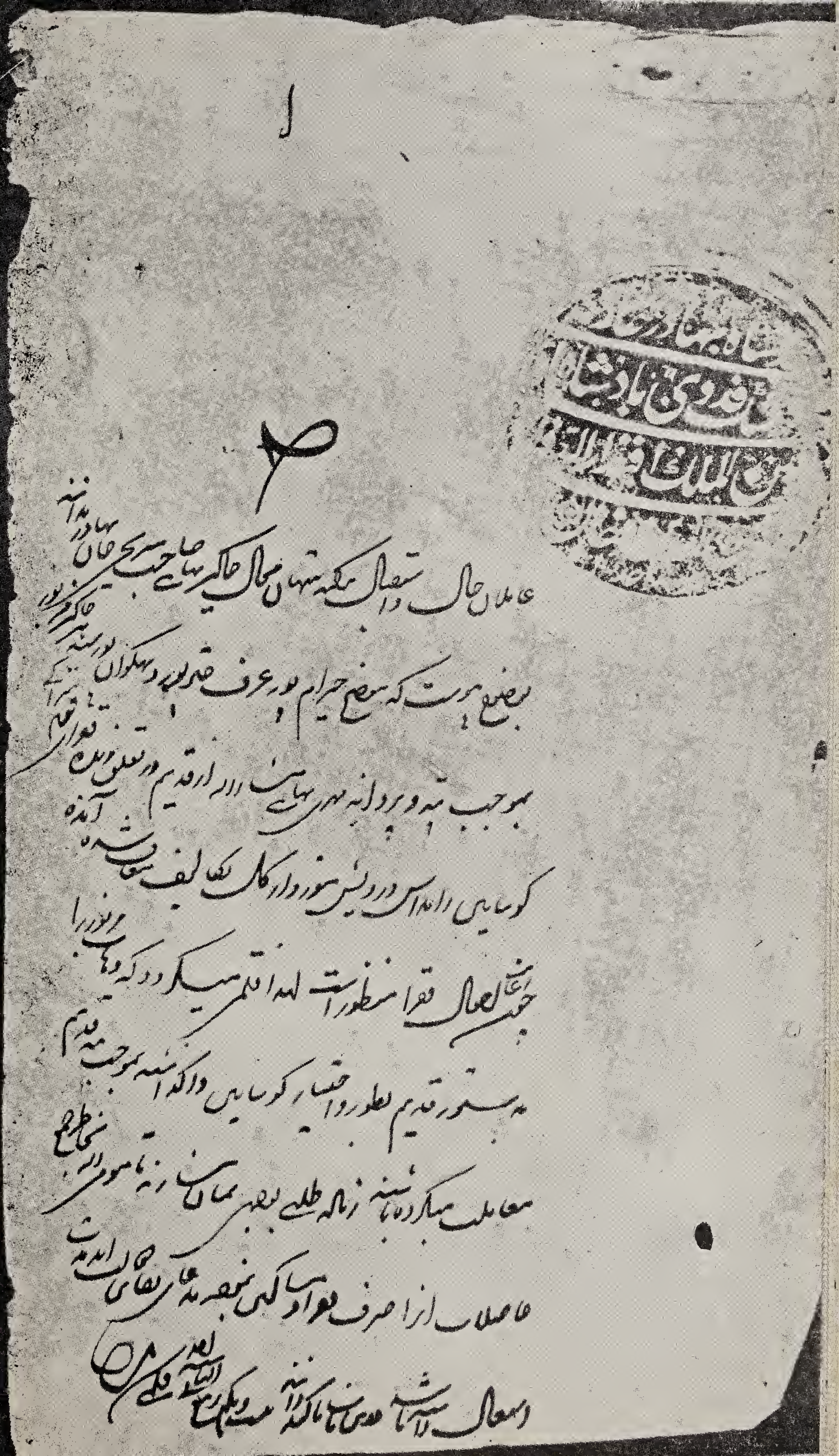

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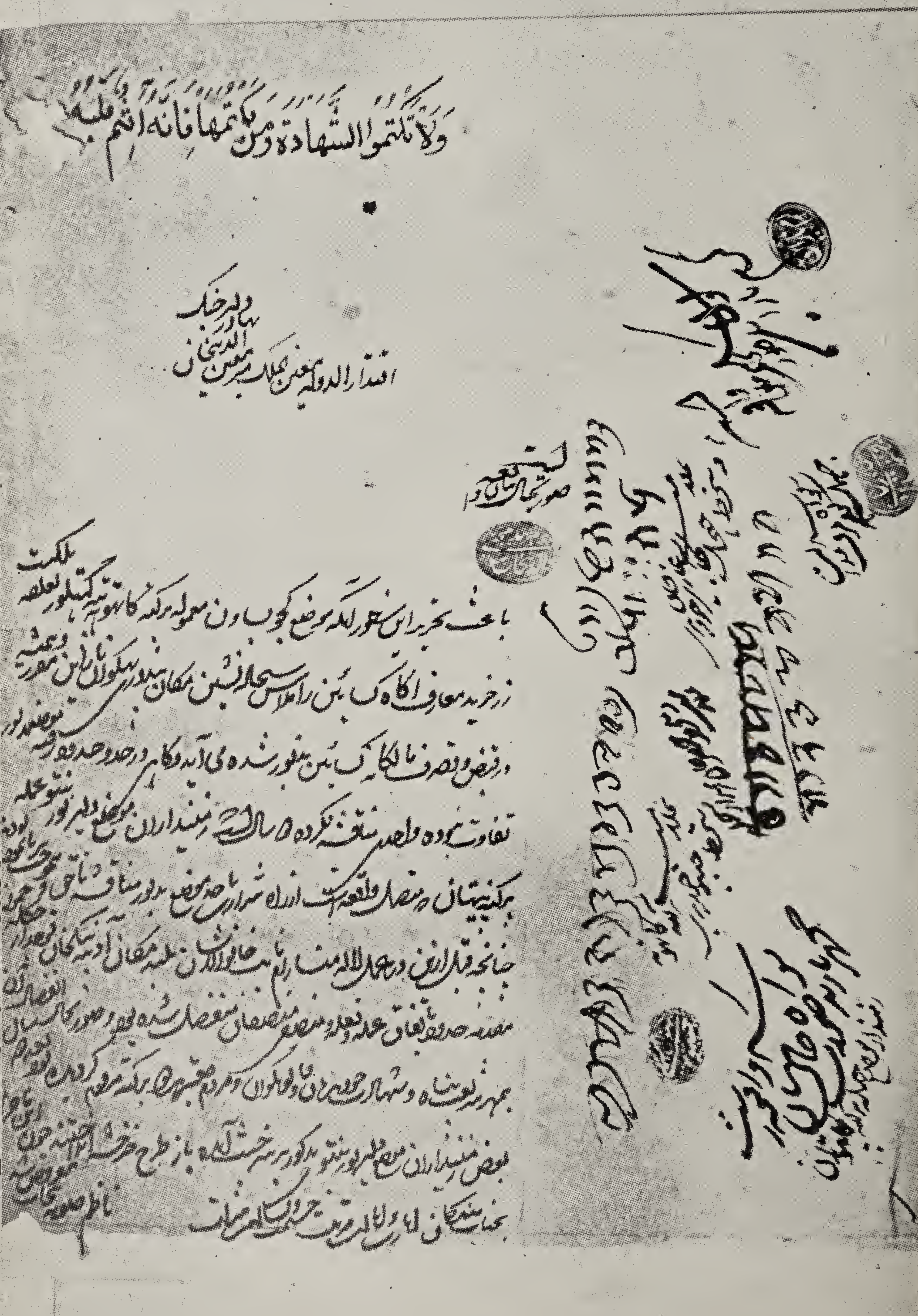

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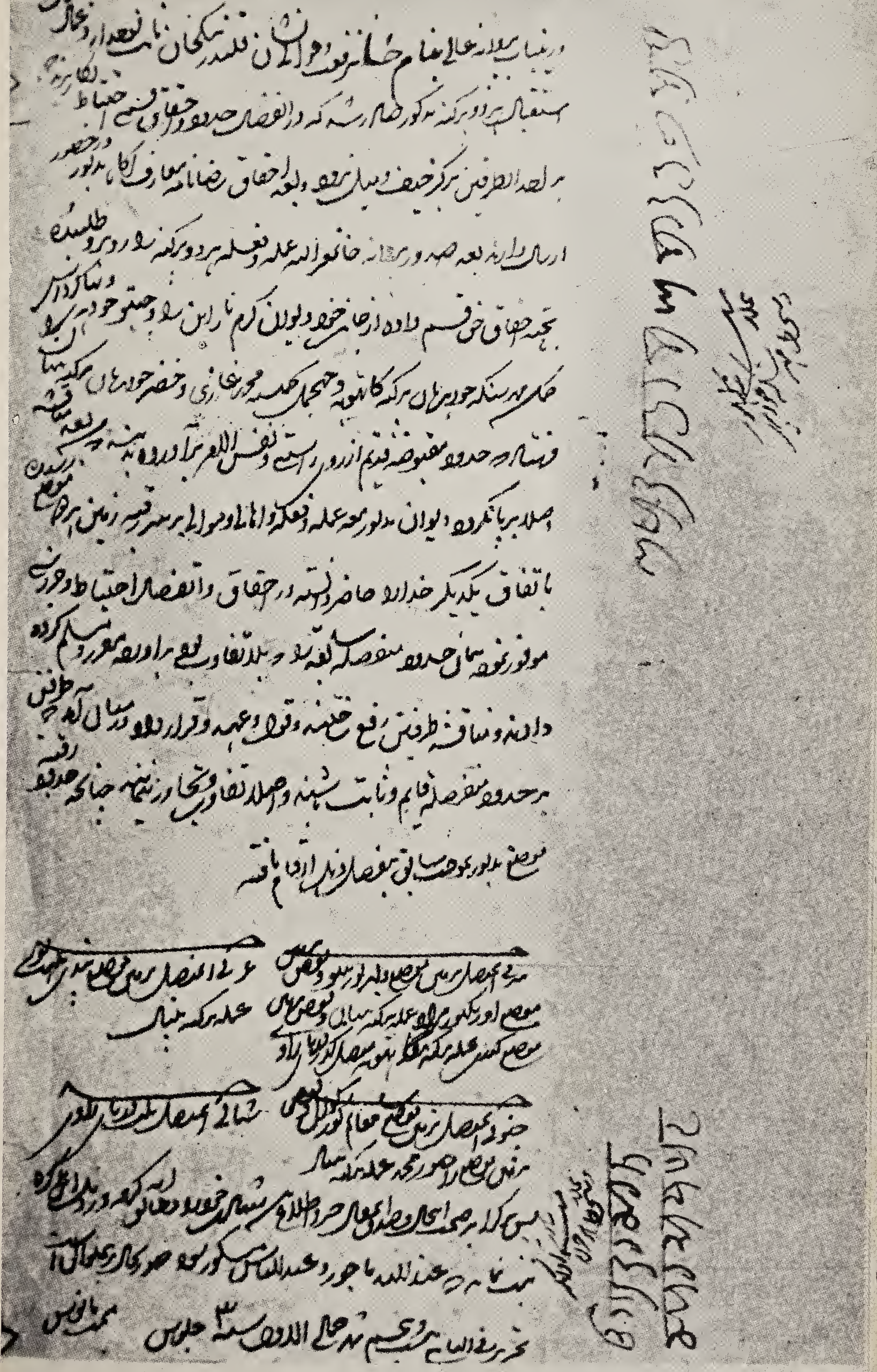

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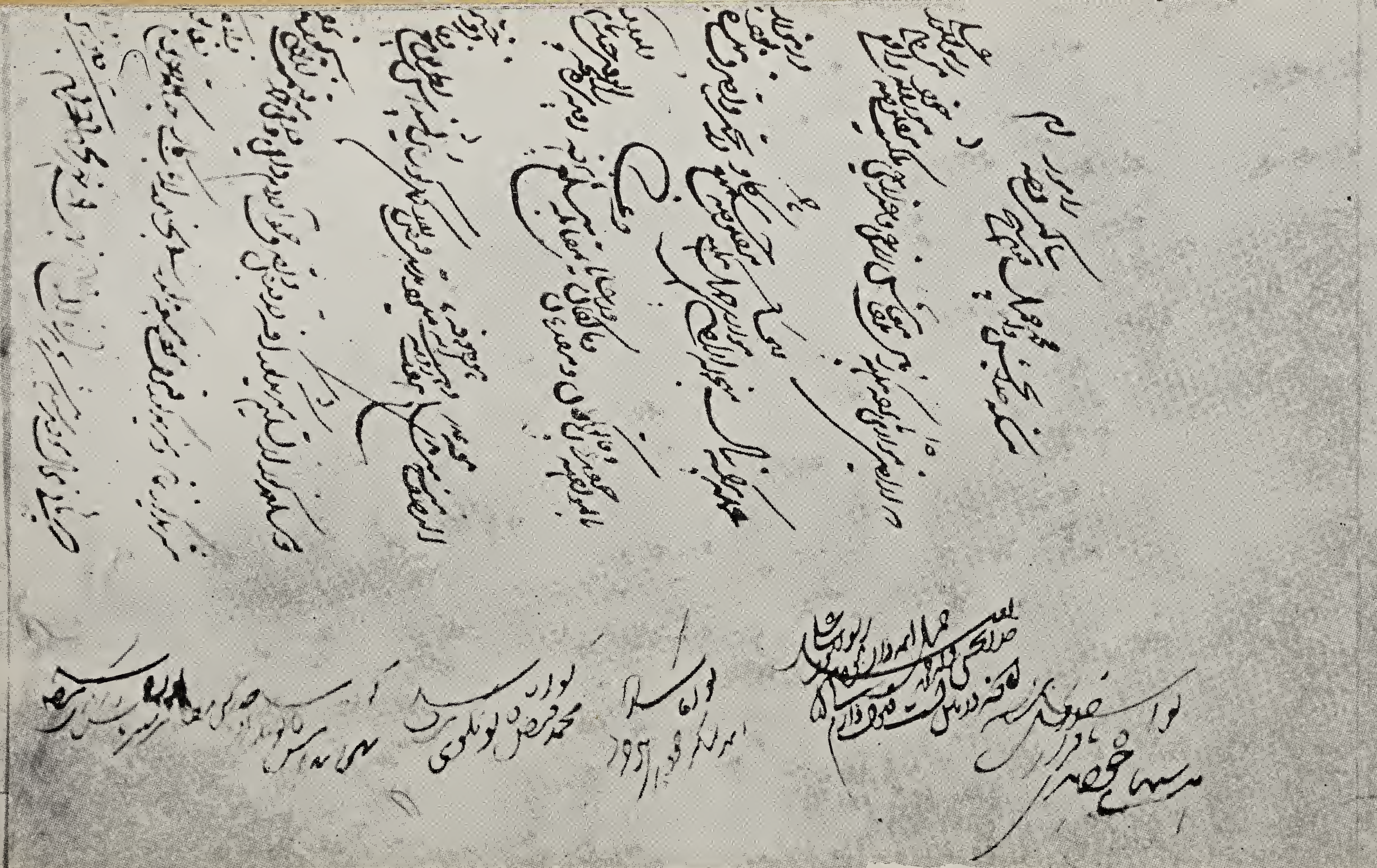

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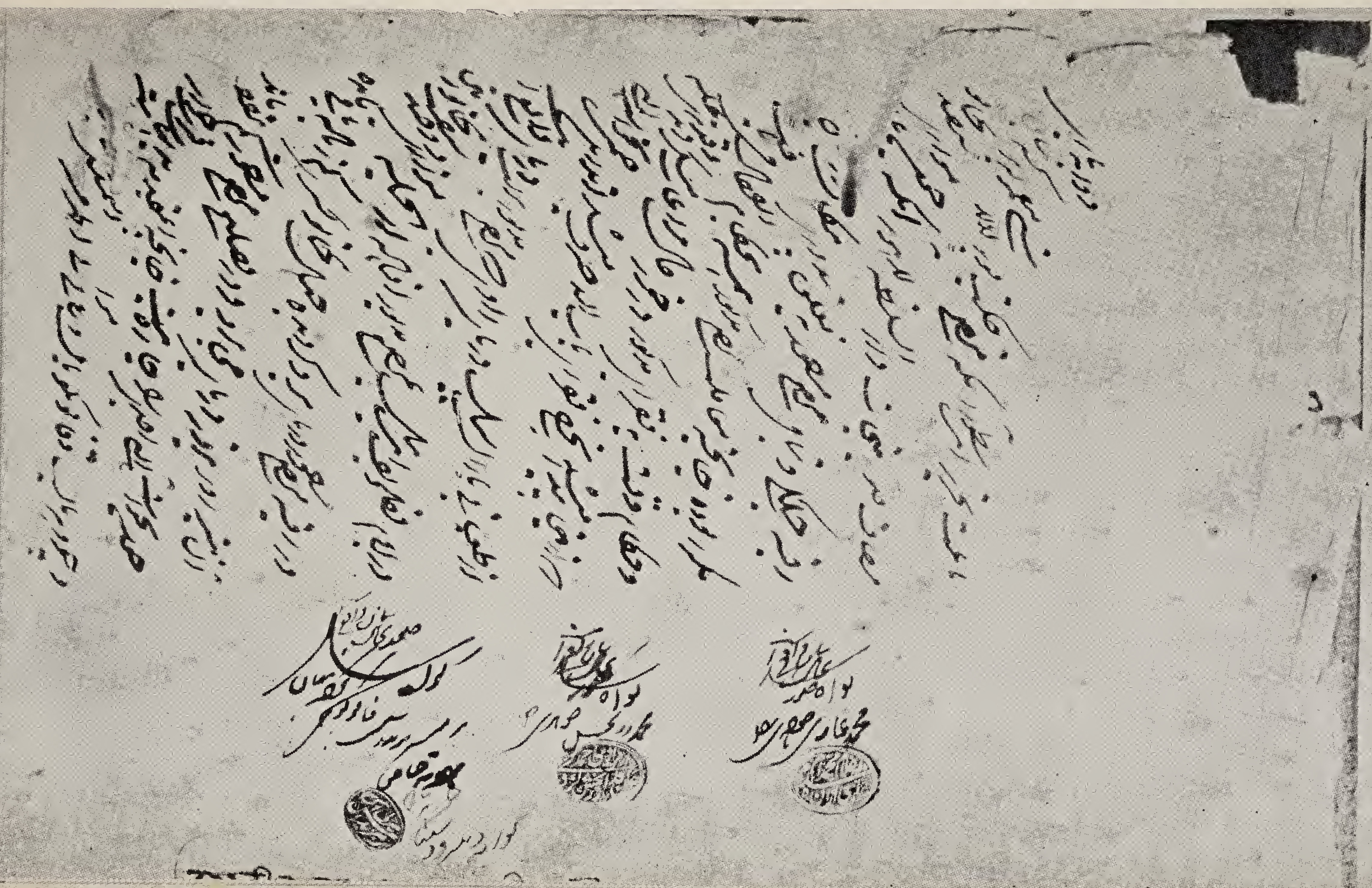

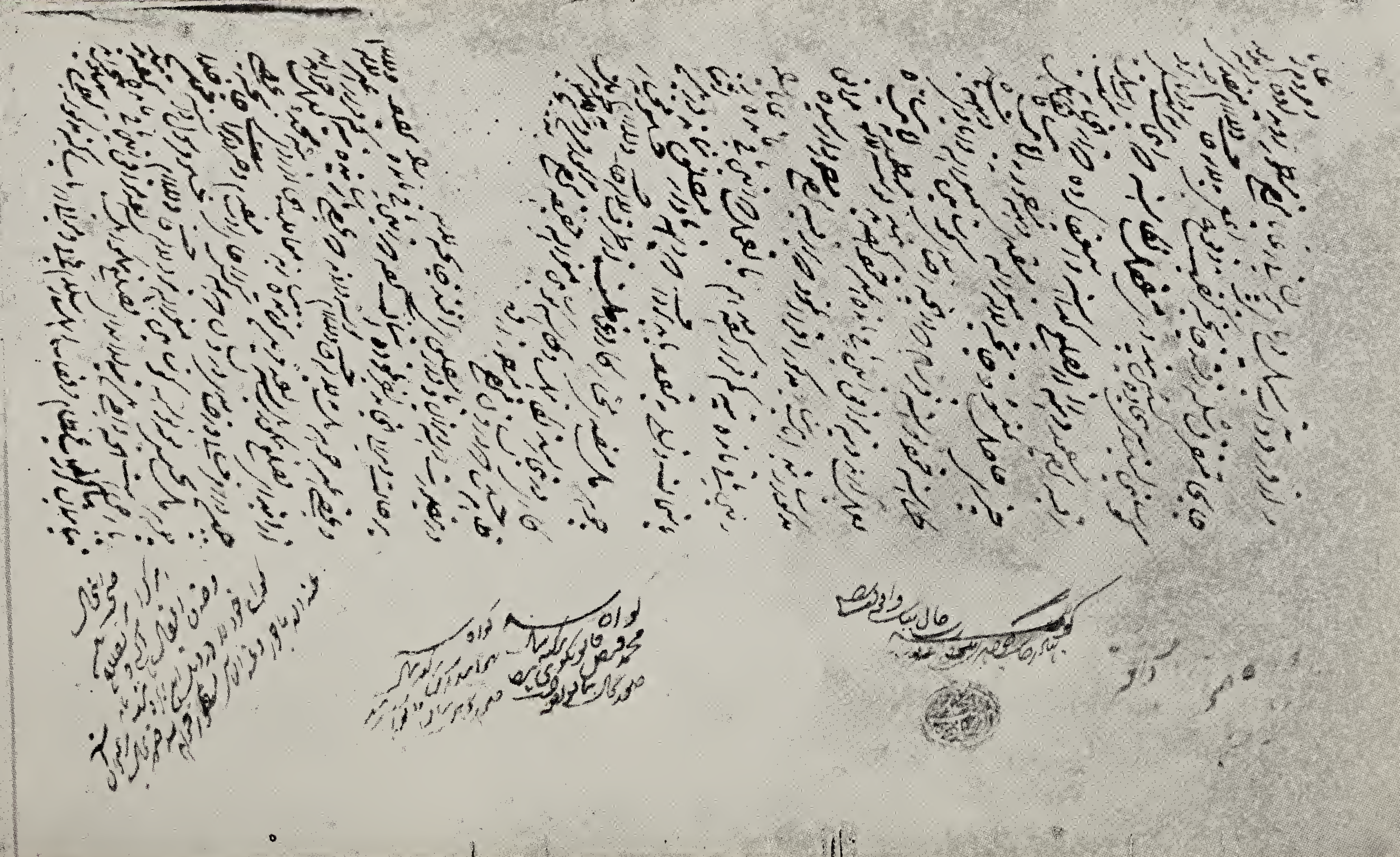

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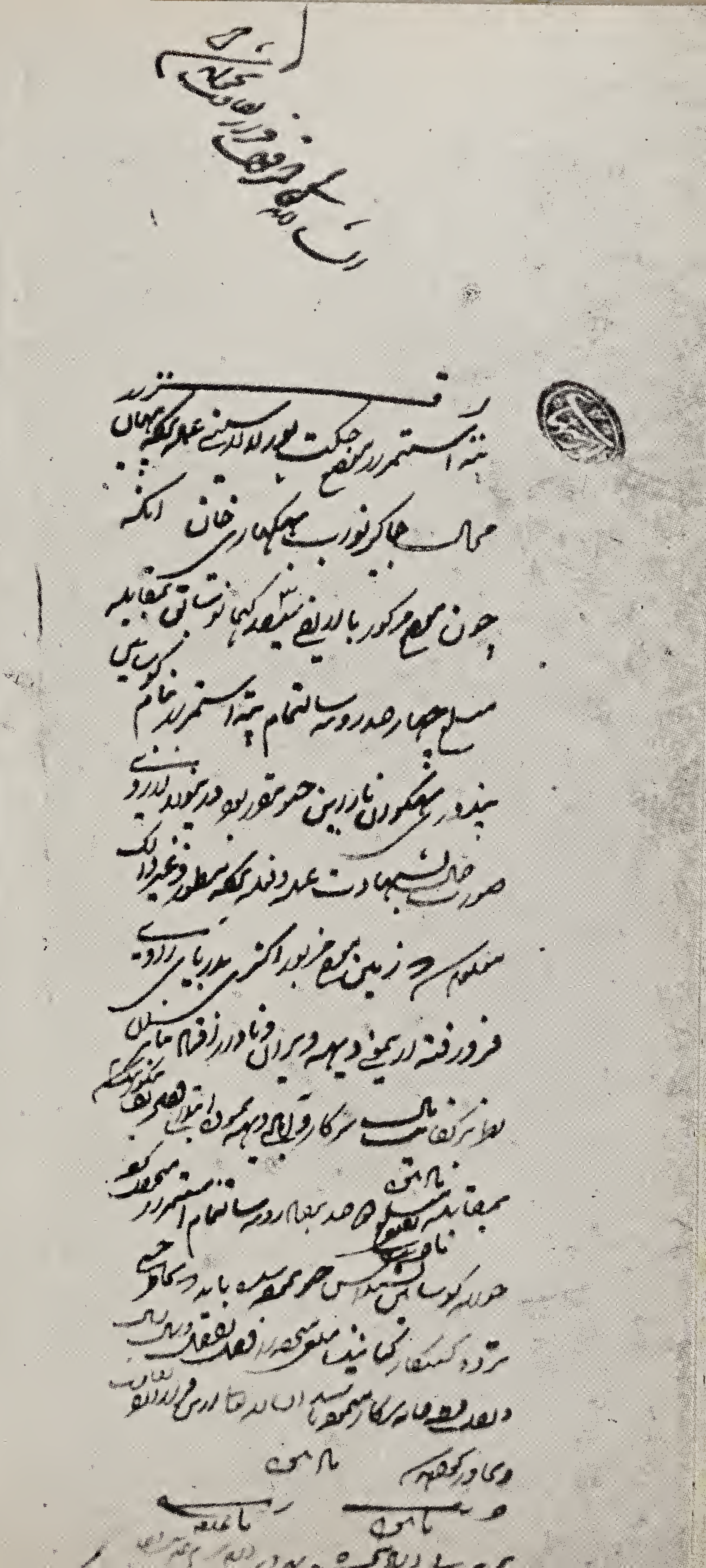

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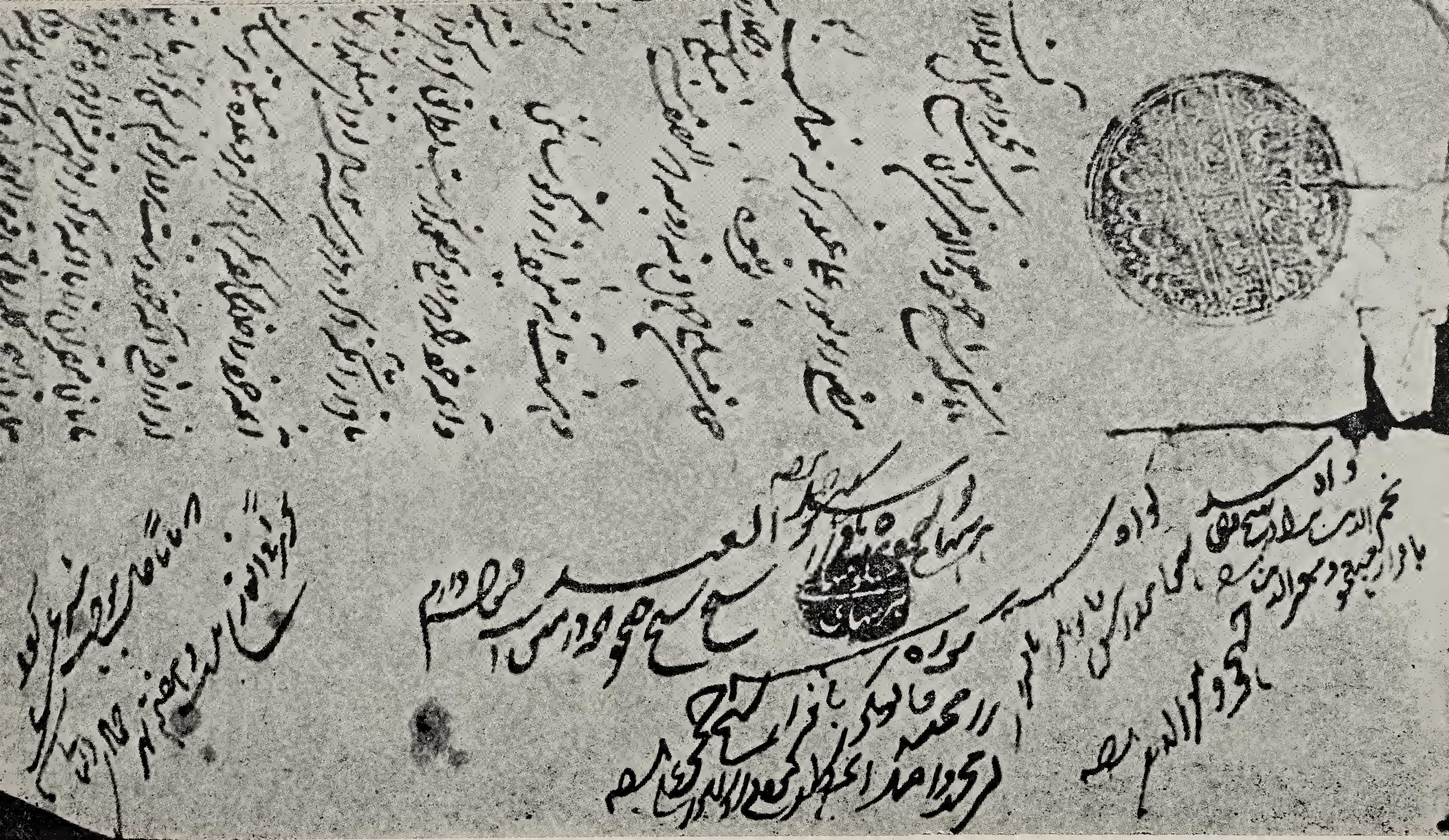
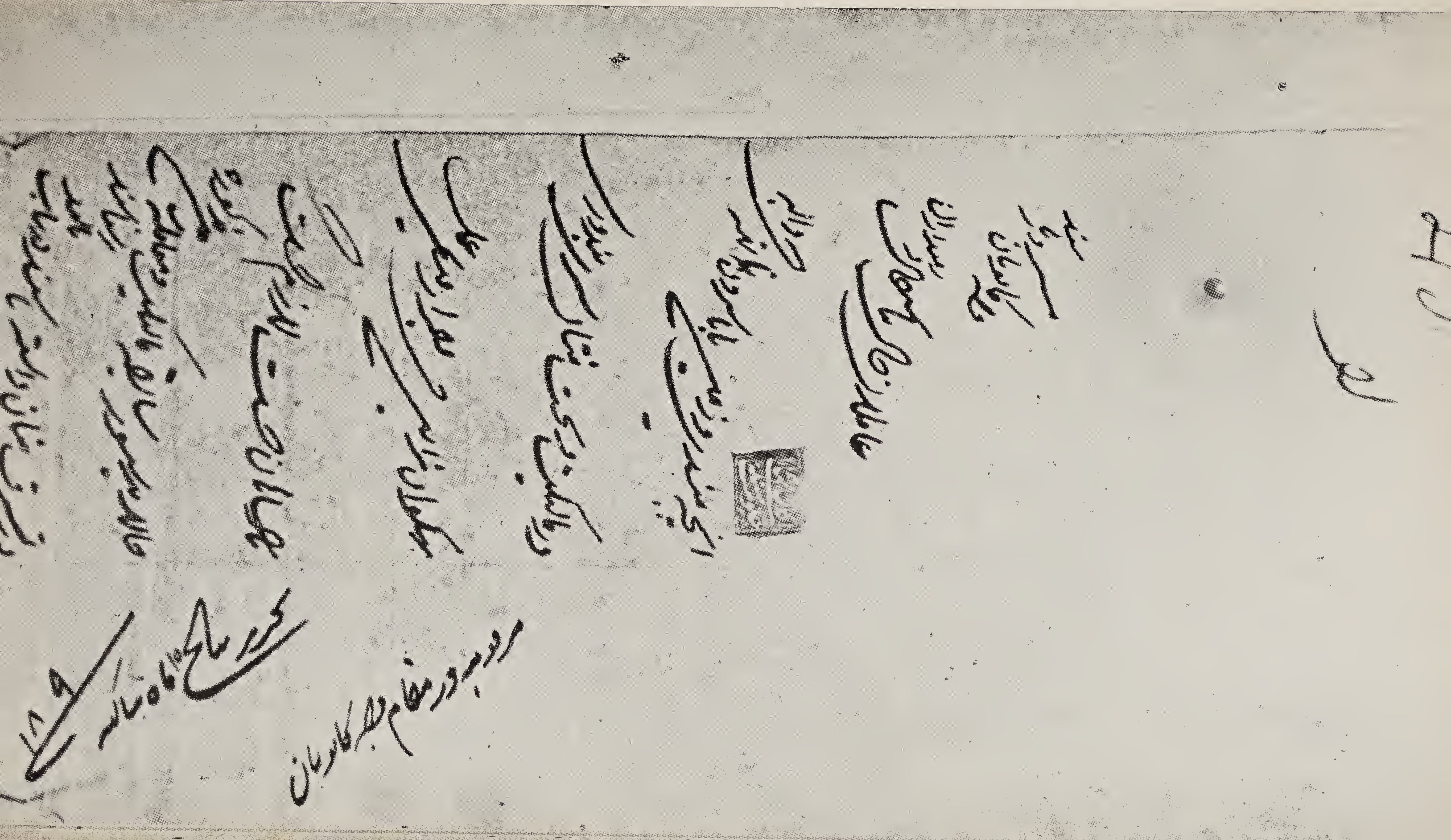


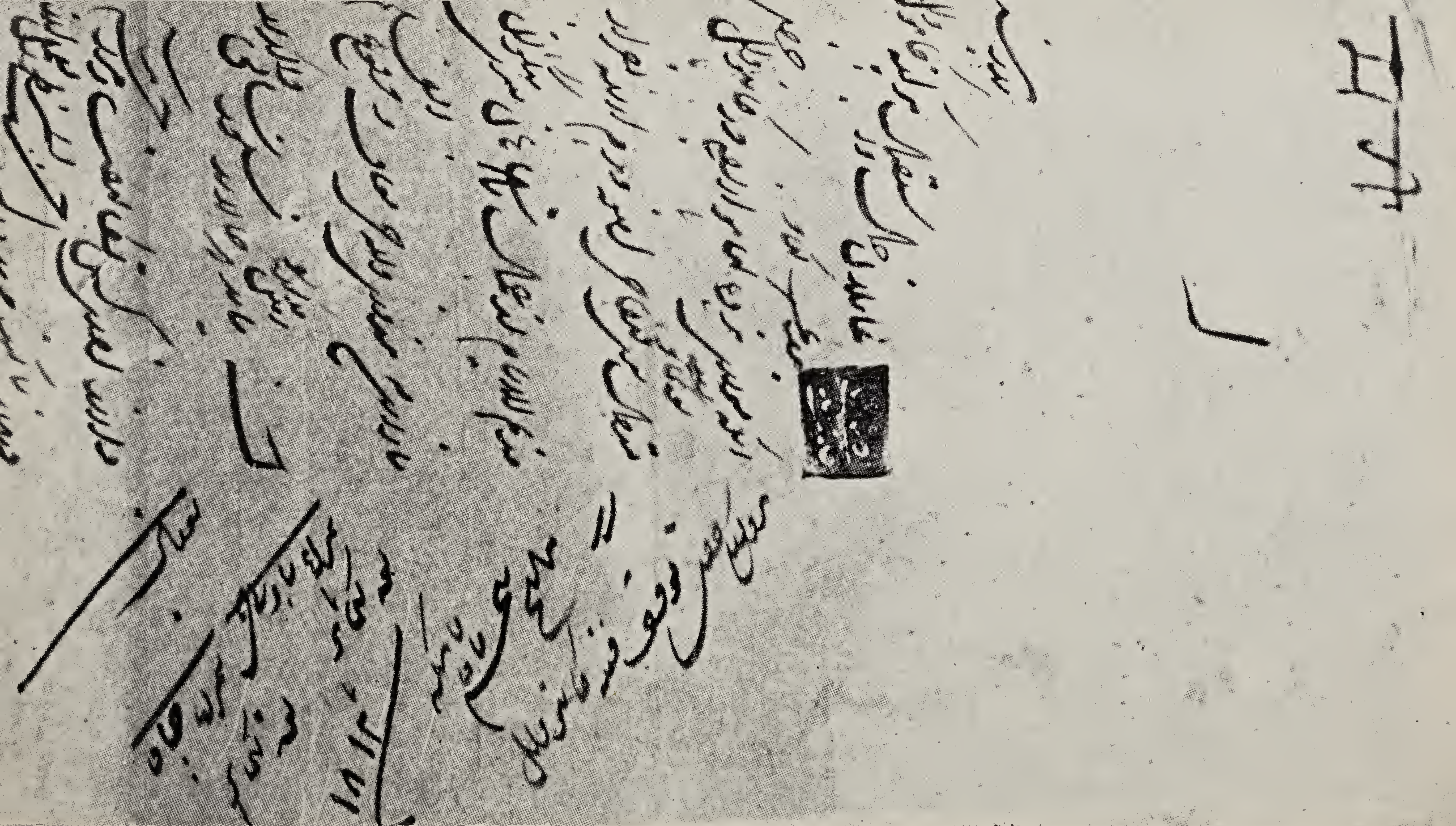
DOCUMENT NO. XVII

Size of the original 21 × 12.5 cms.

DOCUMENT NO. XVIII

Size of the original 30×13 cms.

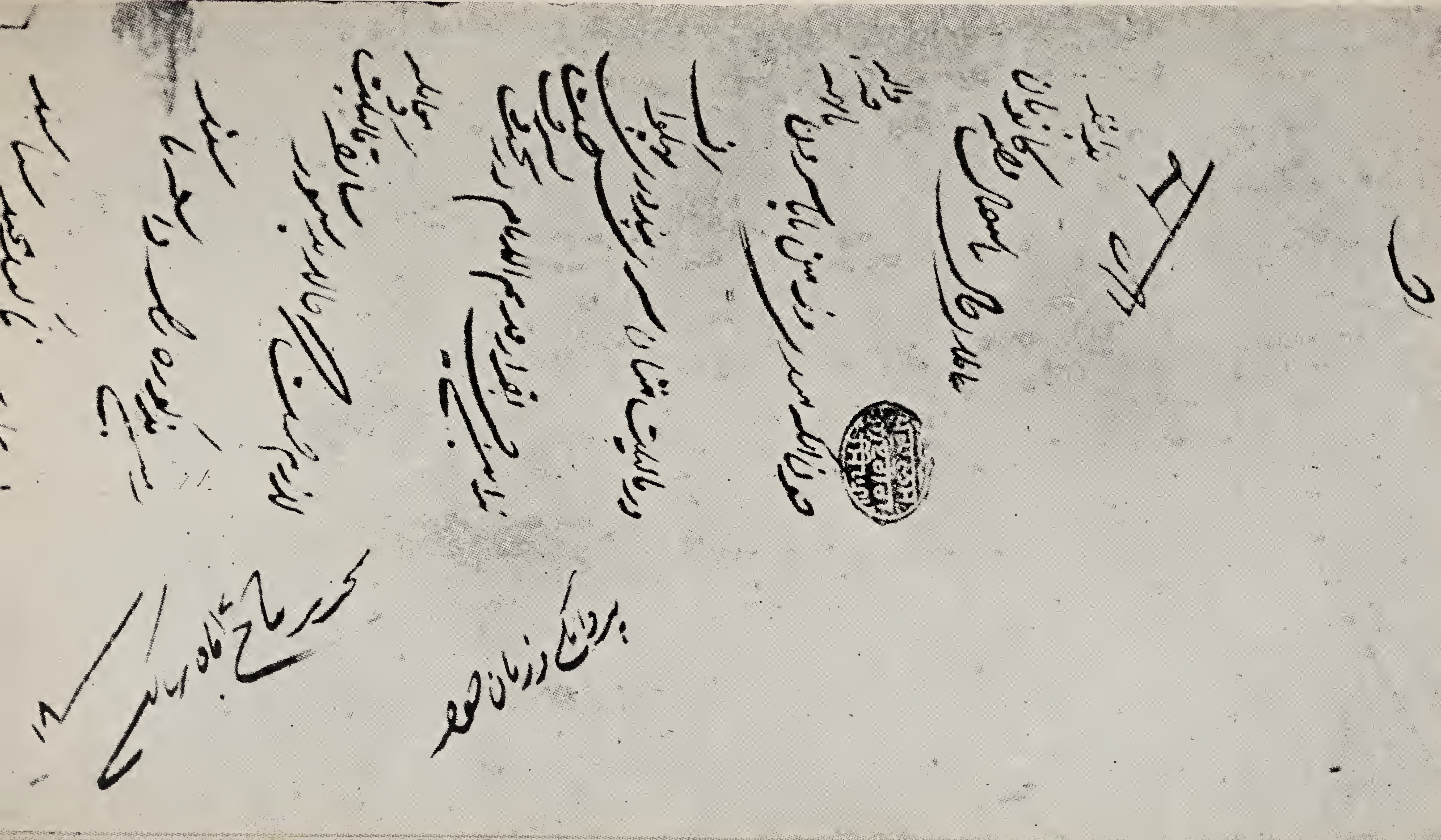


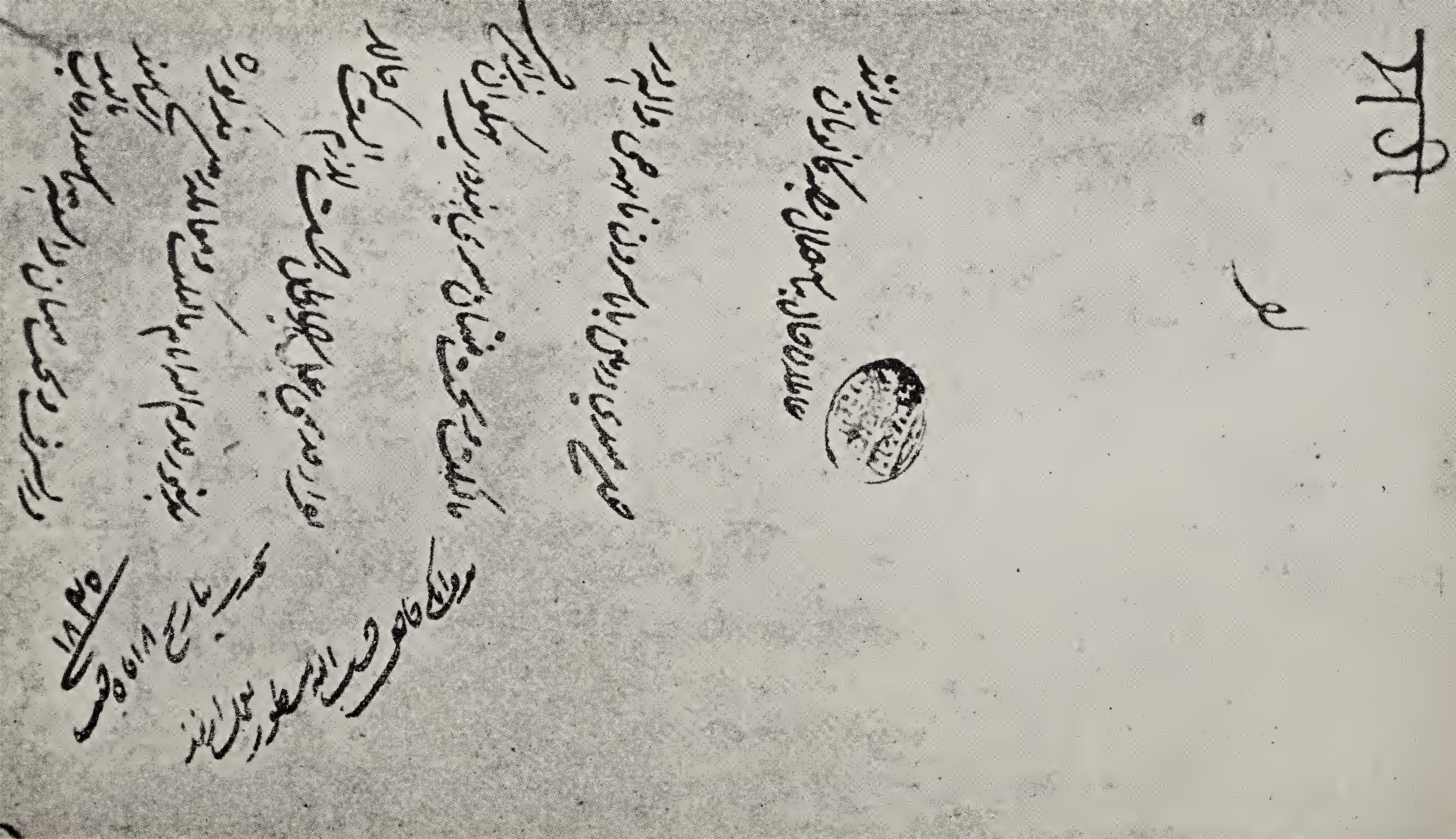


DOCUMENT NO. XIX

Size of the original 22 × 13 cms.

DOCUMENT NO. XX Size of the original 30×13 cms.





सगी

عاملان حال و استقبال قصبه کانوبان بدانند

[illegible] در ملک بابا سرور [illegible] واله در

مالکیت و تحت ضمان [illegible]

[illegible] بحال است لازم است که حال

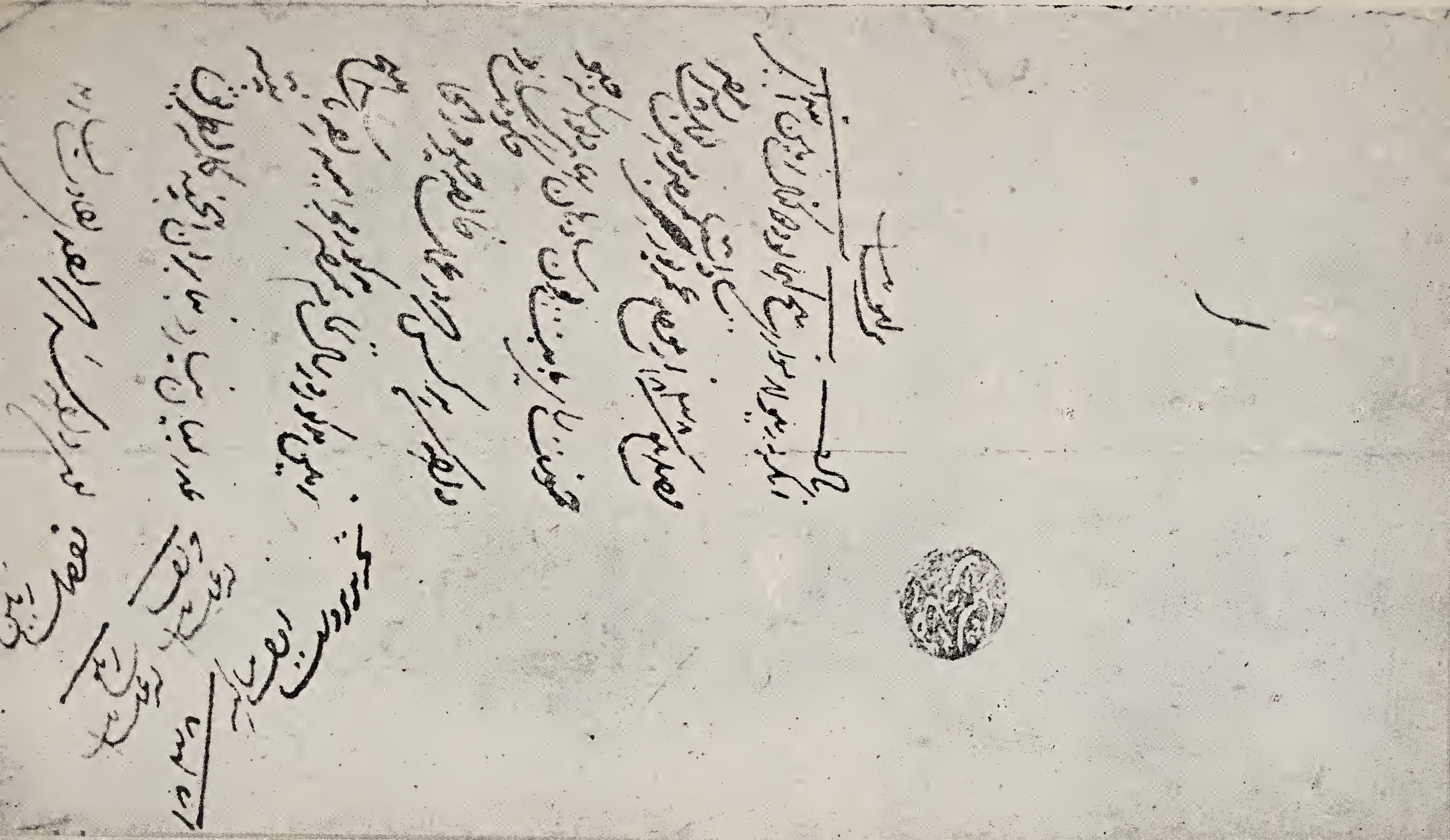
بدستور قدیم الایام مالکیت و معامله [illegible] مذکوره

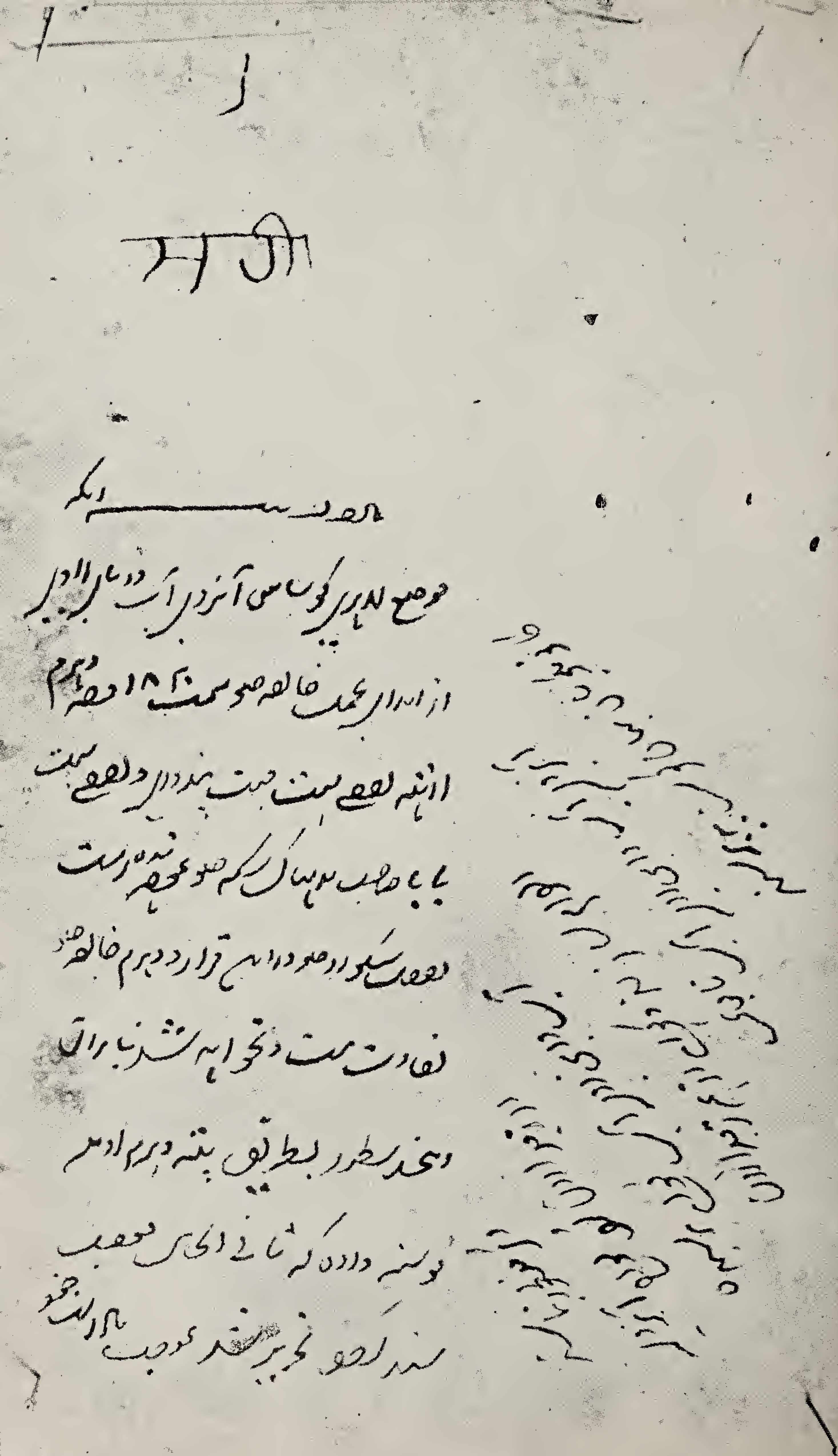
در تصرف و تحت ضمان [illegible] بحال دانسته [illegible]

DOCUMENT NO. XXI

Size of the original 23.4×13.4 cms.

DOCUMENT NO. XXII Size of the original 23 × 12.5 cms.





الحمد لله

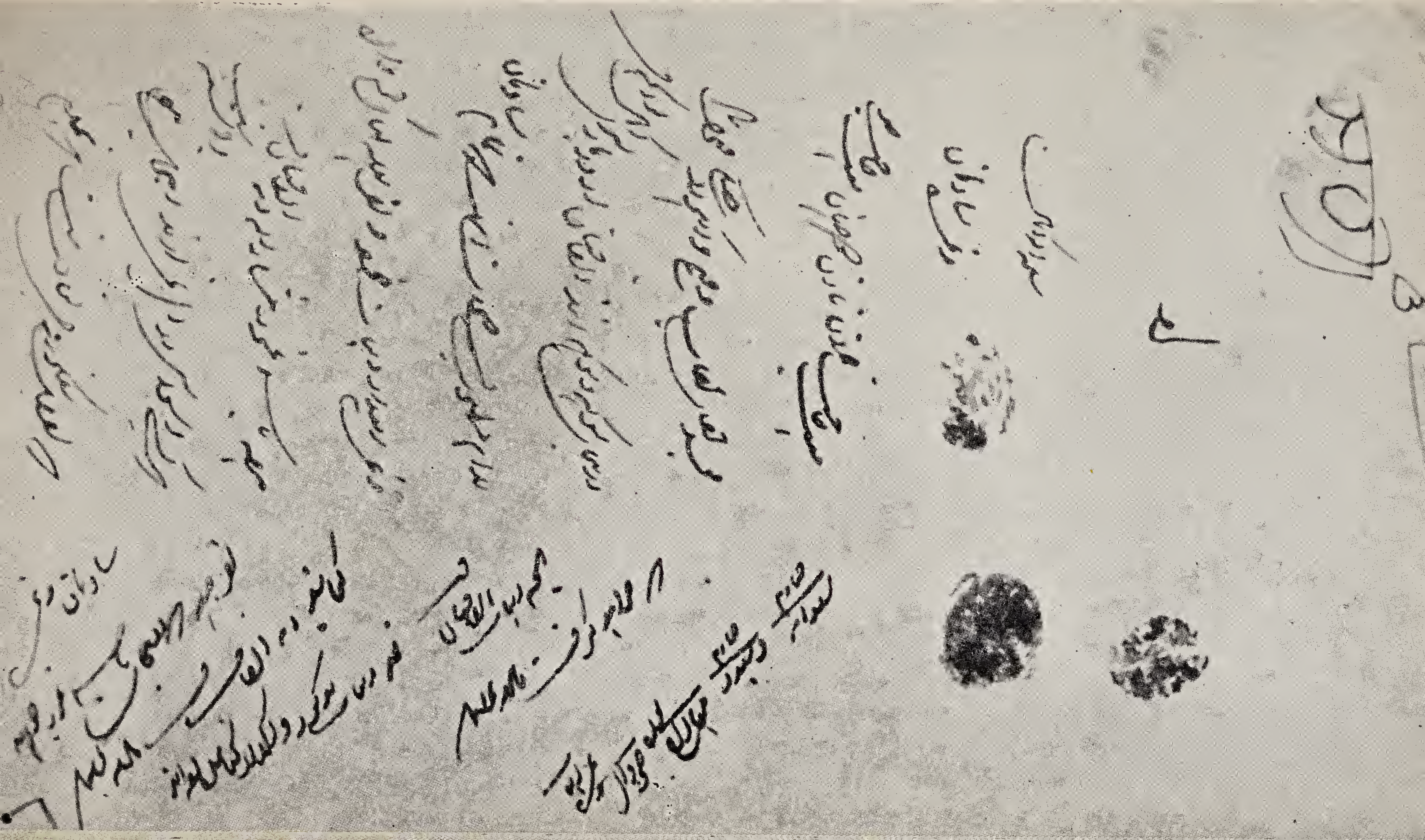
موضع [illegible] آب [illegible]
از [illegible] خالصه [illegible] درهم
[illegible] جهت [illegible]
بابا صاحب [illegible] که [illegible]
[illegible] قرار [illegible] درهم خالصه
تفاوت است [illegible]
[illegible] بطریق [illegible] درهم [illegible]
نوشته داده که [illegible]
سند [illegible] تحریر شد بموجب [illegible]

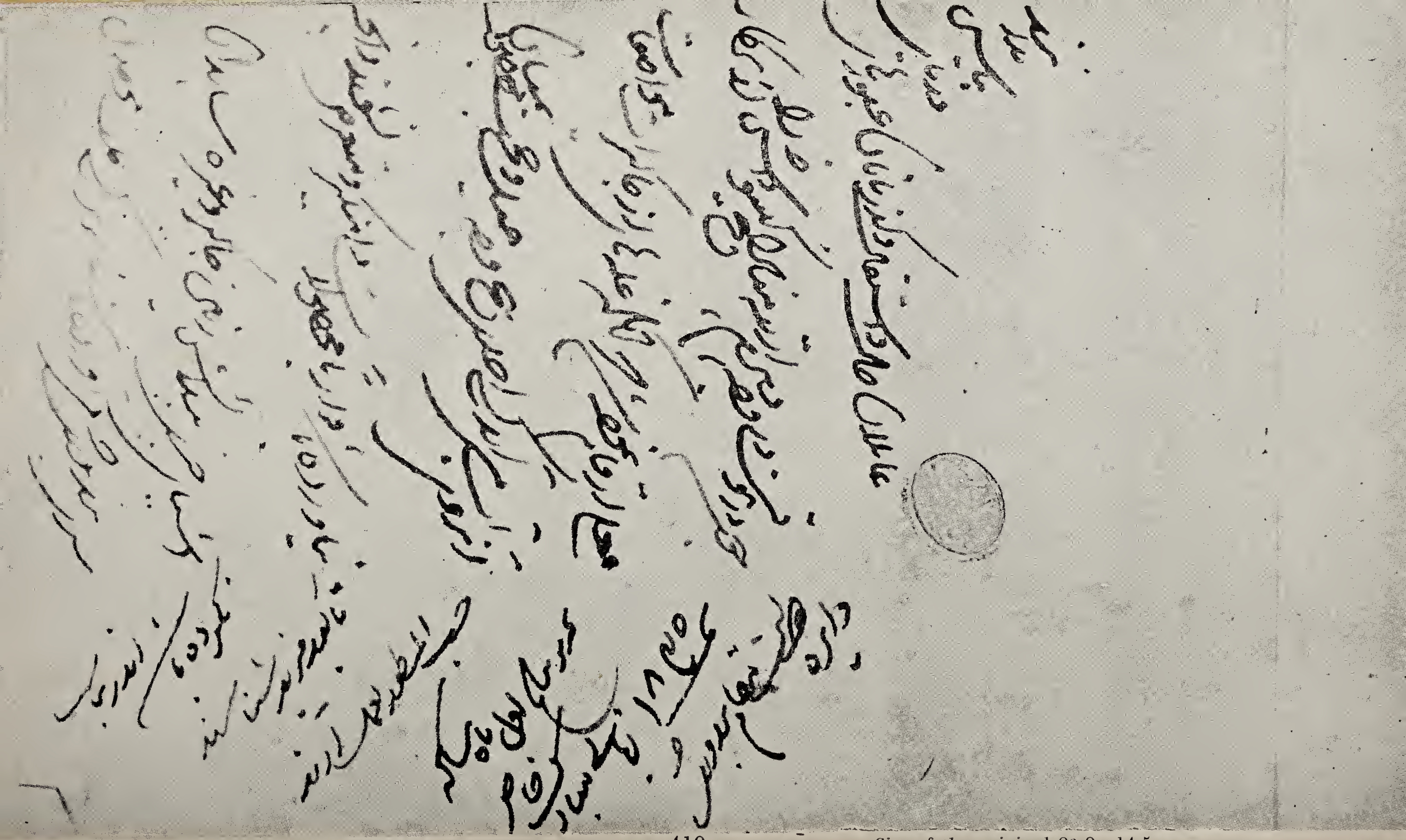
DOCUMENT NO. XXIII

Size of the original 23.5 × 13.5 cms.

DOCUMENT NO. XXIV

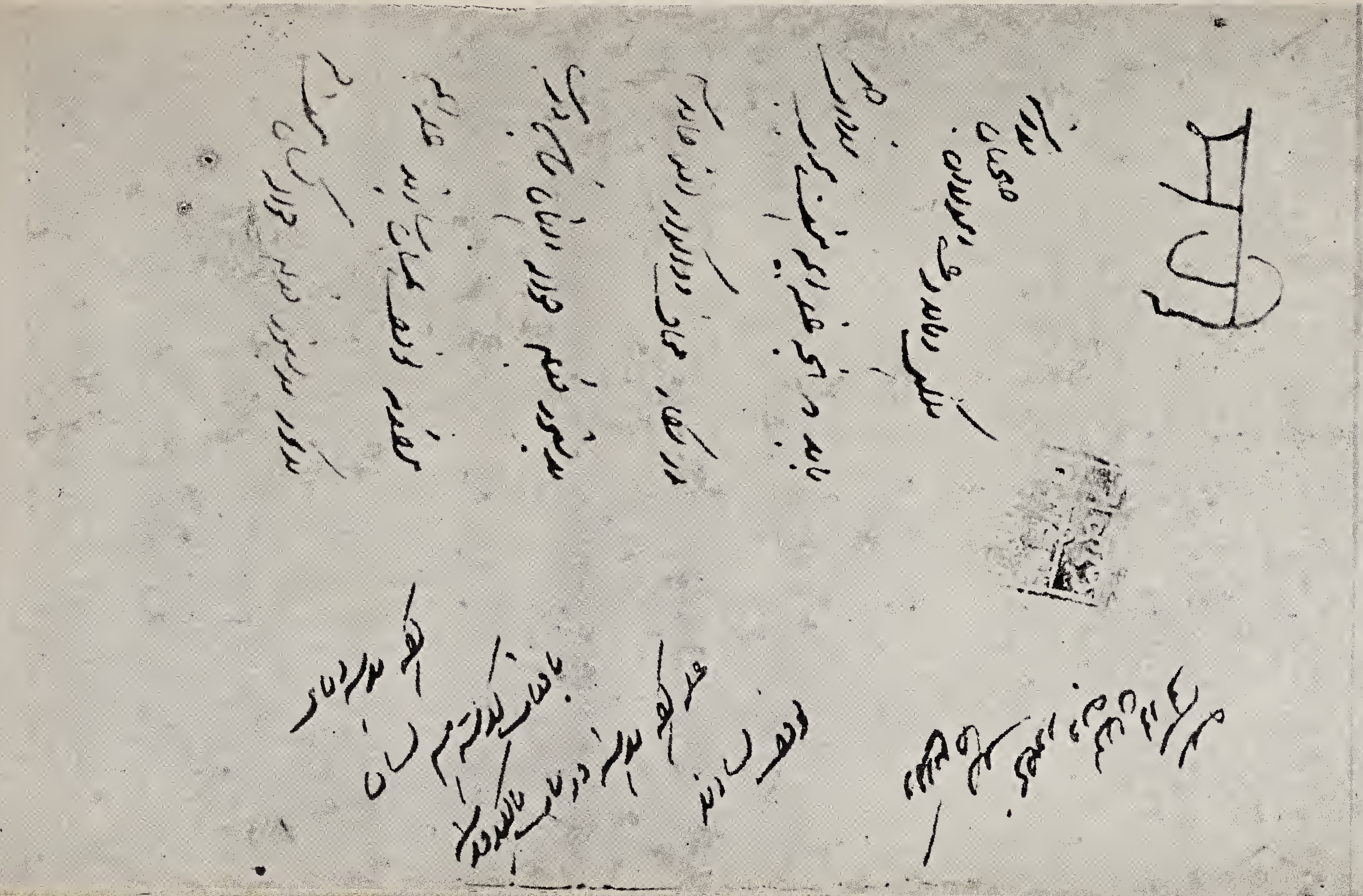
Size of the original 23.2×13 cms.

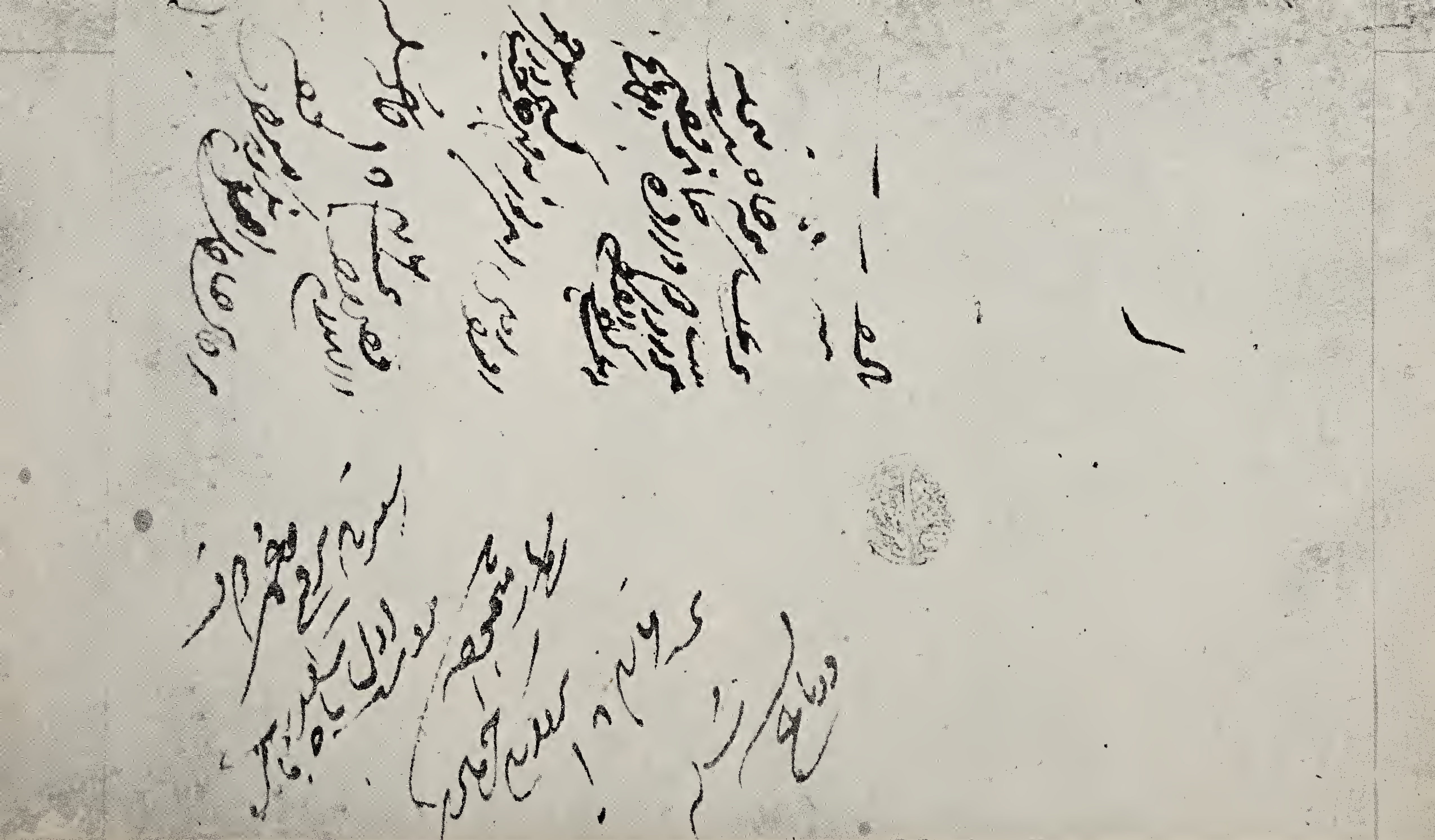




DOCUMENT NO. XXV

Size of the original 23.2 × 14.5 cms.





DOCUMENT NO. XXVII

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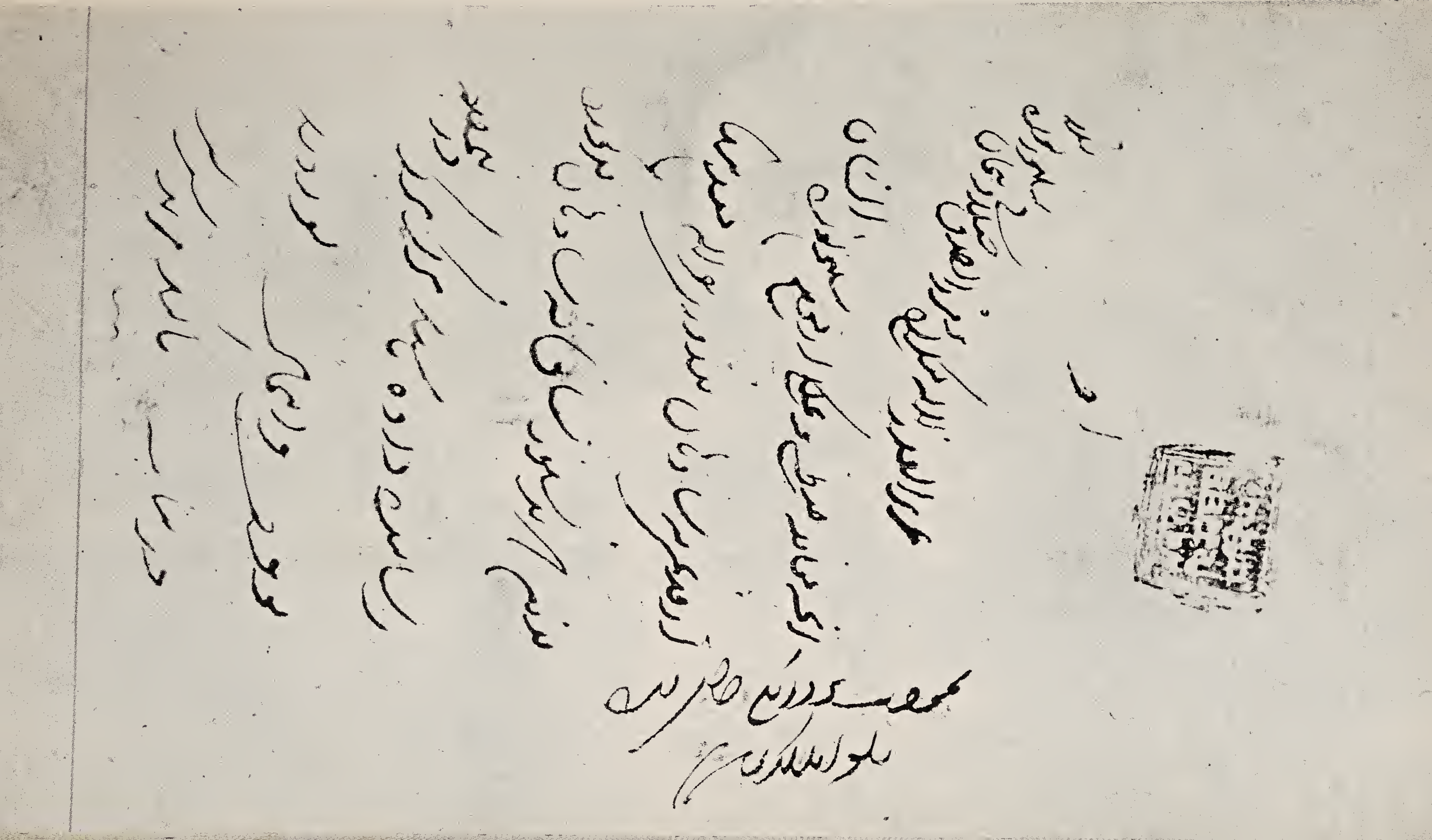
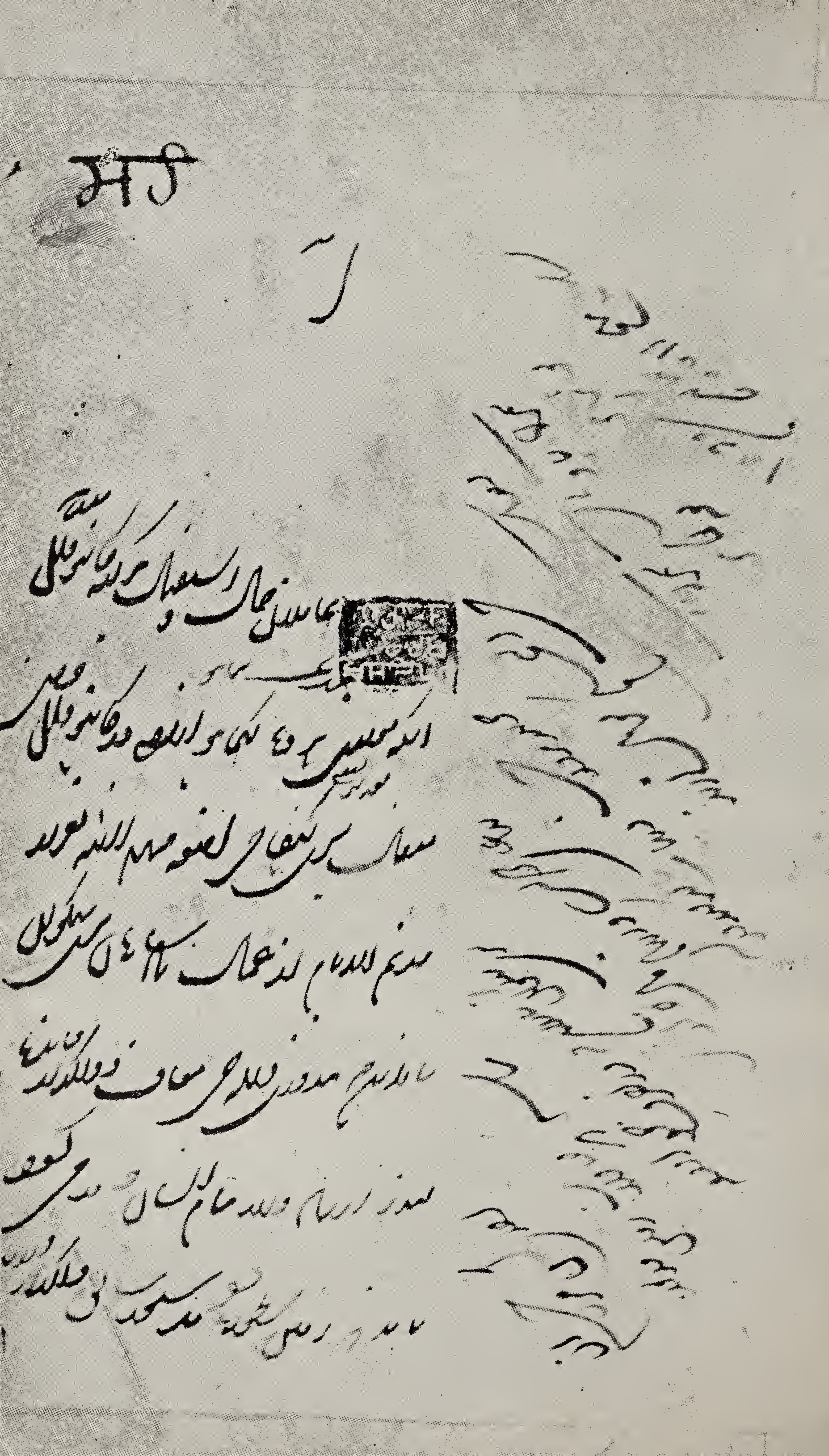
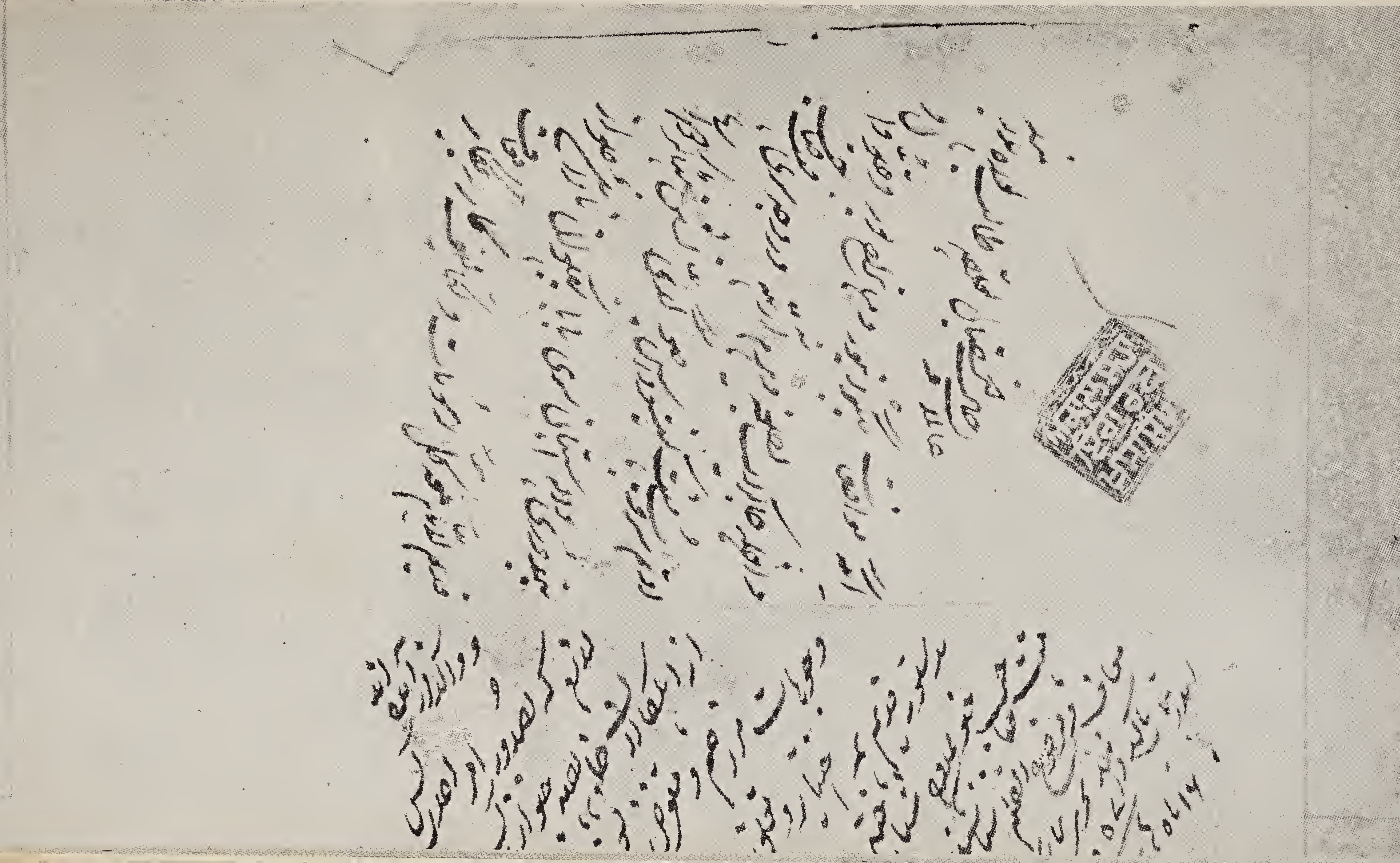


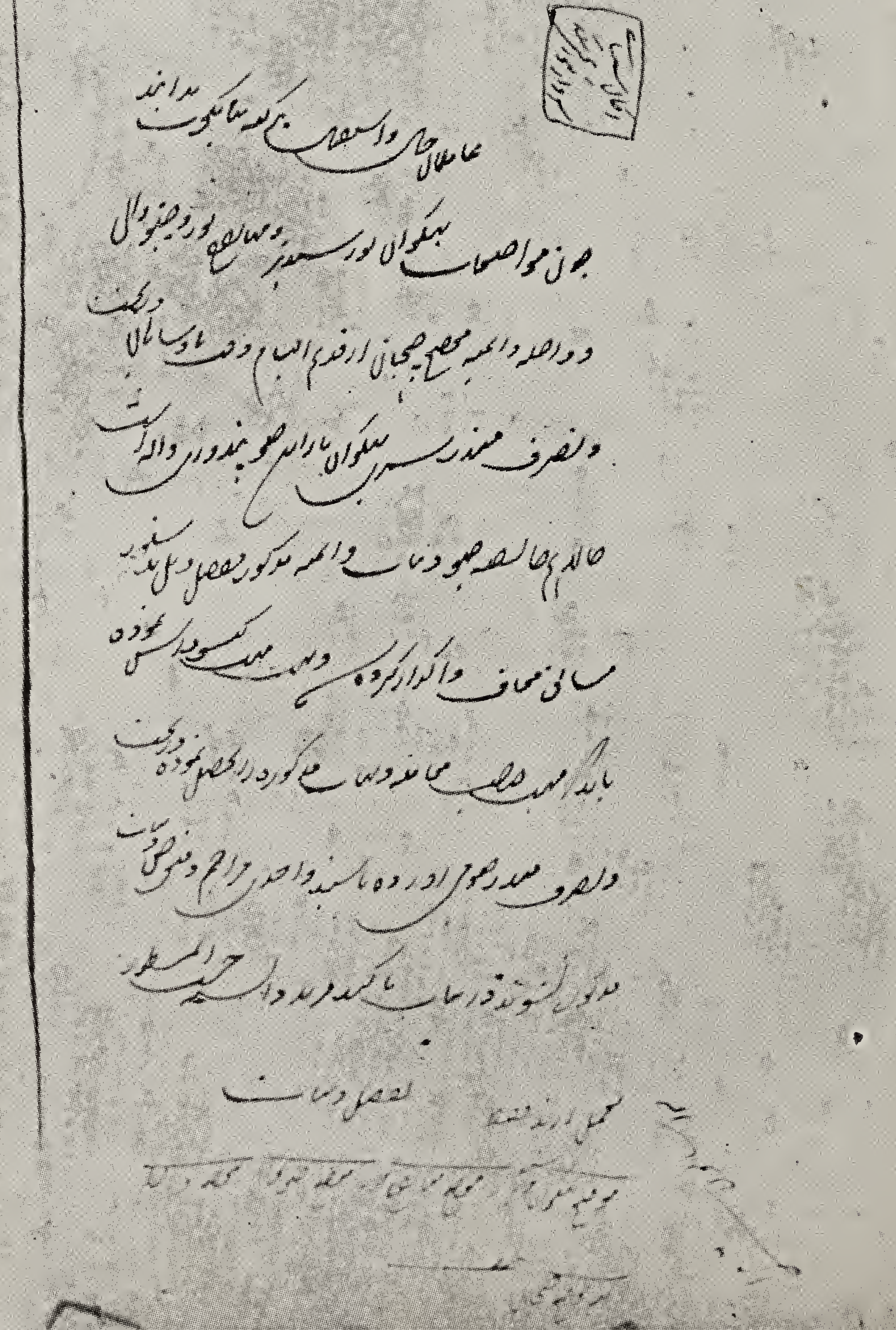


DOCUMENT NO. XXIX

Size of the original 20.5 × 13 cms.

DOCUMENT NO. XXX Size of the original 12.5 × 12.2 cms.





عاملان حالی و استقبالی [illegible] بدانند

چون [illegible] و معاملتی [illegible] والی

[illegible] از قدم الایام وقف [illegible] در کلیت

و التصرف ممنوع [illegible]

حال [illegible] خالصه [illegible] مذکور [illegible] مفصل [illegible]

سالی معاف و آزاد کرده [illegible] نموده

باید [illegible] نموده [illegible]

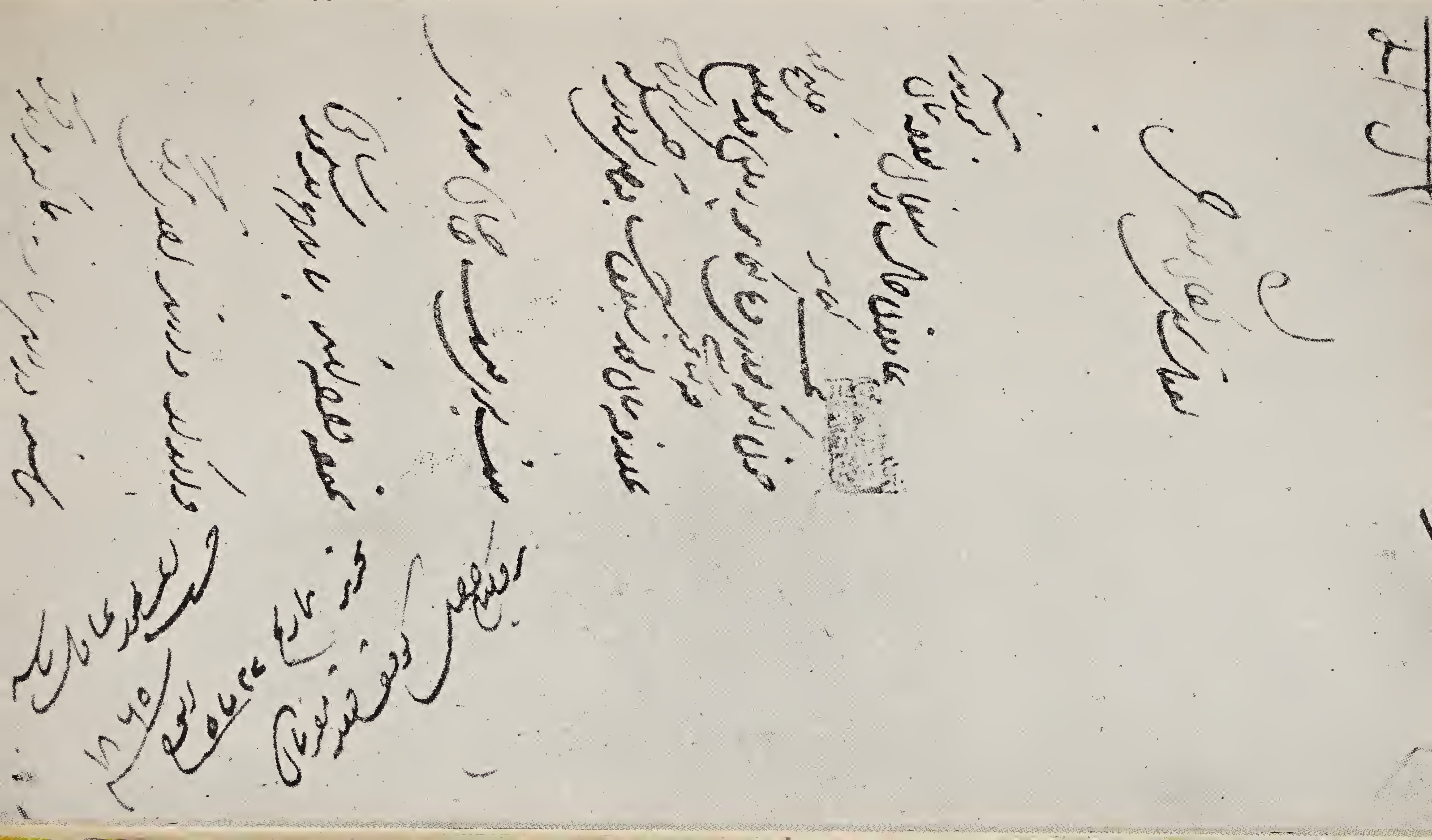
و التصرف [illegible] باشند [illegible]

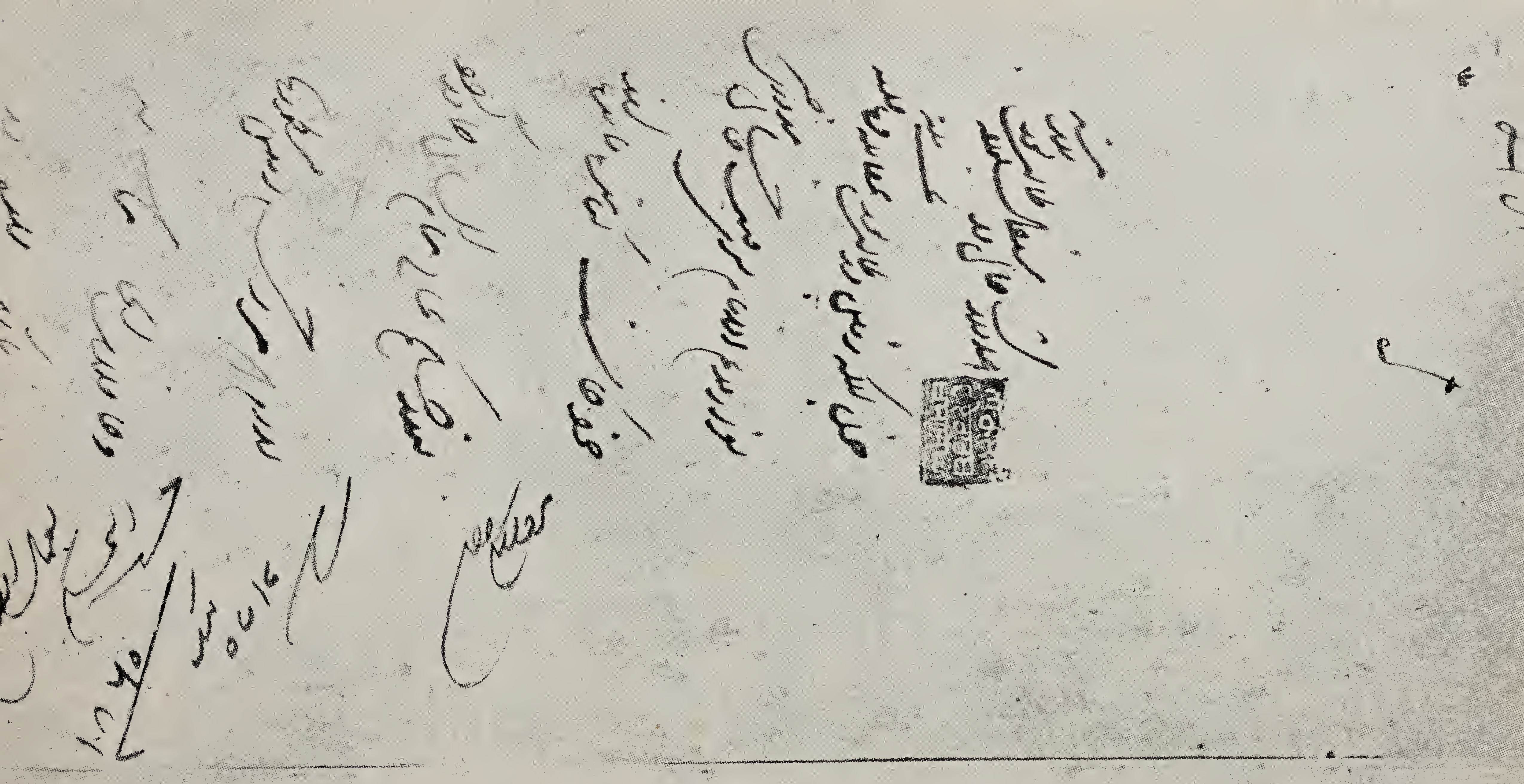
[illegible] حسب المسطور

[illegible]

DOCUMENT NO. XXXI 416 Size of the original 32.2×14 cms.

DOCUMENT NO. XXXII 417 Size of the original 24×13 cms.

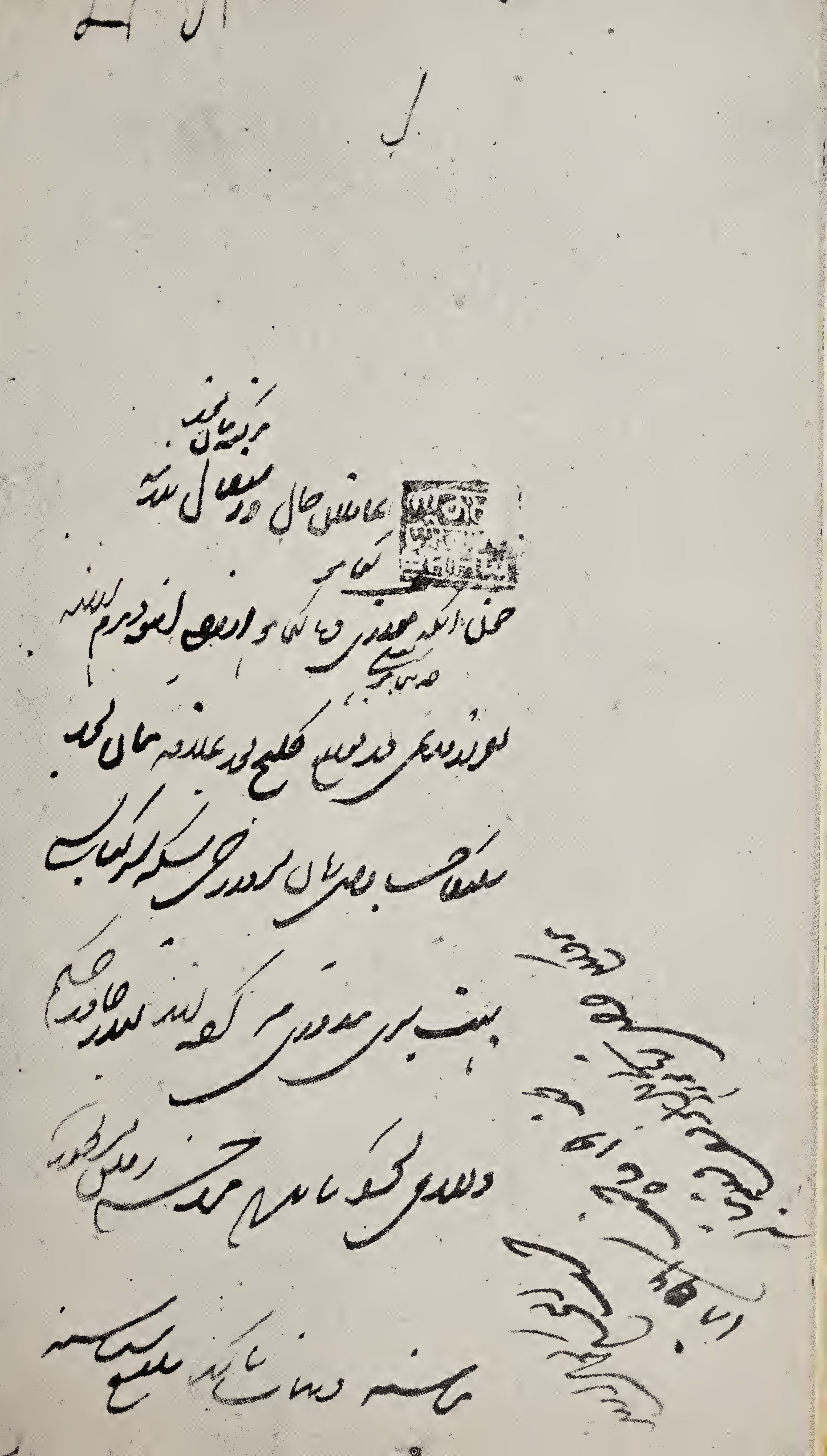


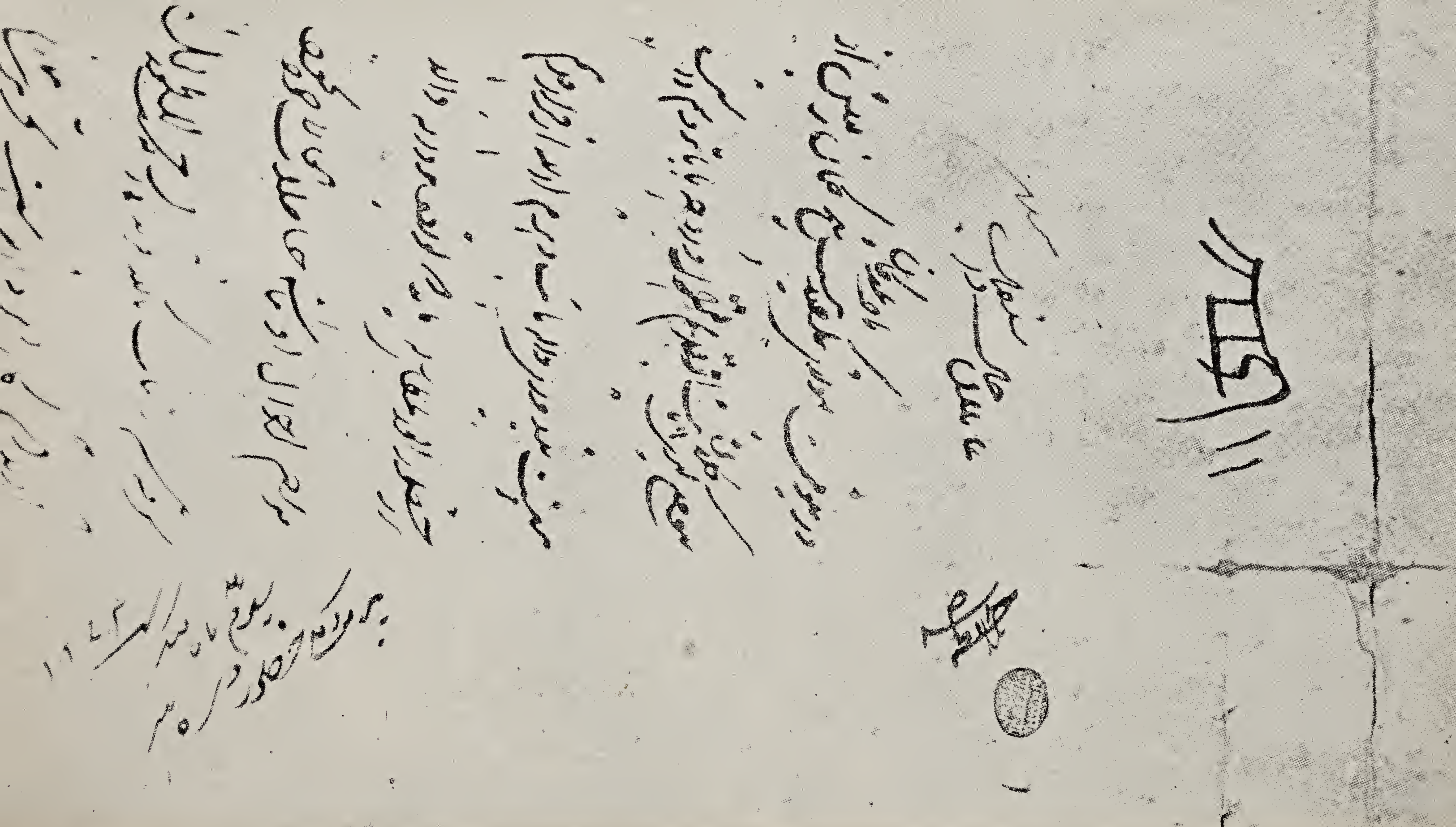


DOCUMENT NO. XXXIII

Size of the original 29.5 × 12.8 cms.

DOCUMENT NO. XXXIV 419 Size of the original 23.3 × 13 cms.





DOCUMENT NO. XXXV

Size of the original 22.7 × 14 cms.

۱

بدانند
زمیداران کروریان سرکار

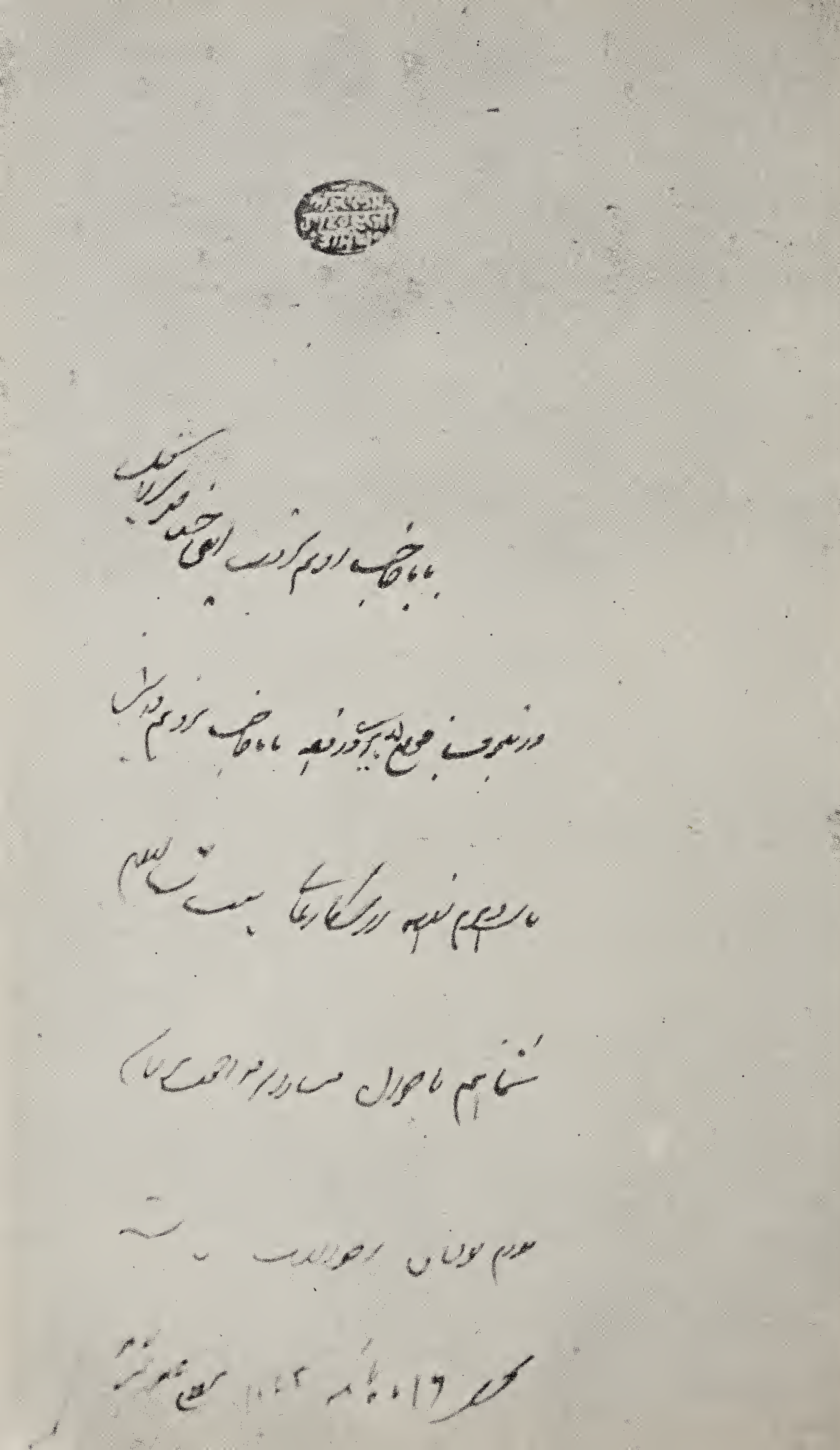
موازی [illegible] بیگه زمین بابت [illegible] در وجه [illegible] مرحمت ارزانی [illegible]

چون در حضور فیض گنجور [illegible] شده باید که [illegible]

در قبض و تصرف آنها بازگذارند و مطالبه [illegible] فصل بفصل سال بسال

[illegible] نموده باشند هیچگونه تفاوت نرسانند

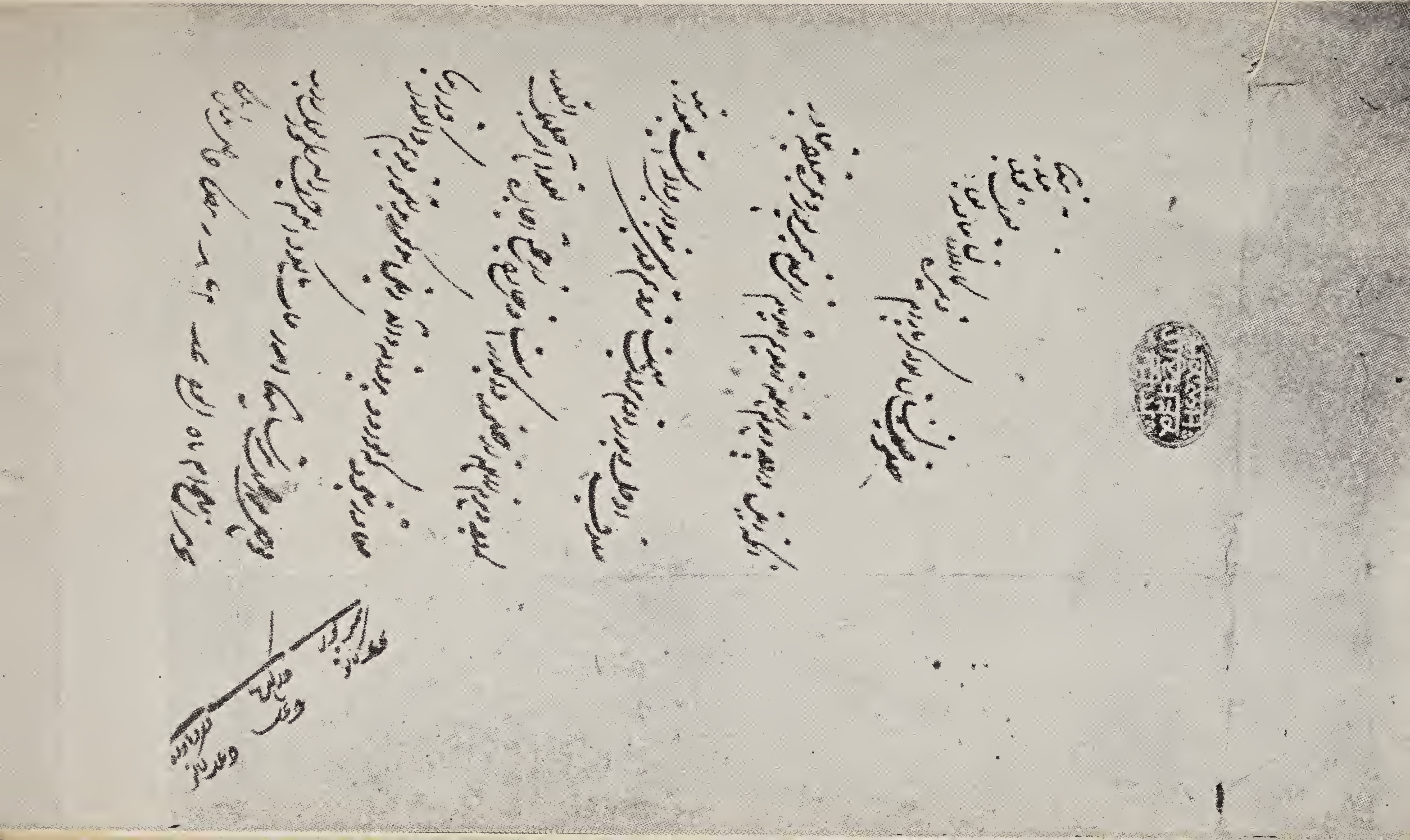
حسب المسطور بعمل آرند تحریراً فی التاریخ چهارم ماه [illegible] سنه ۱۸

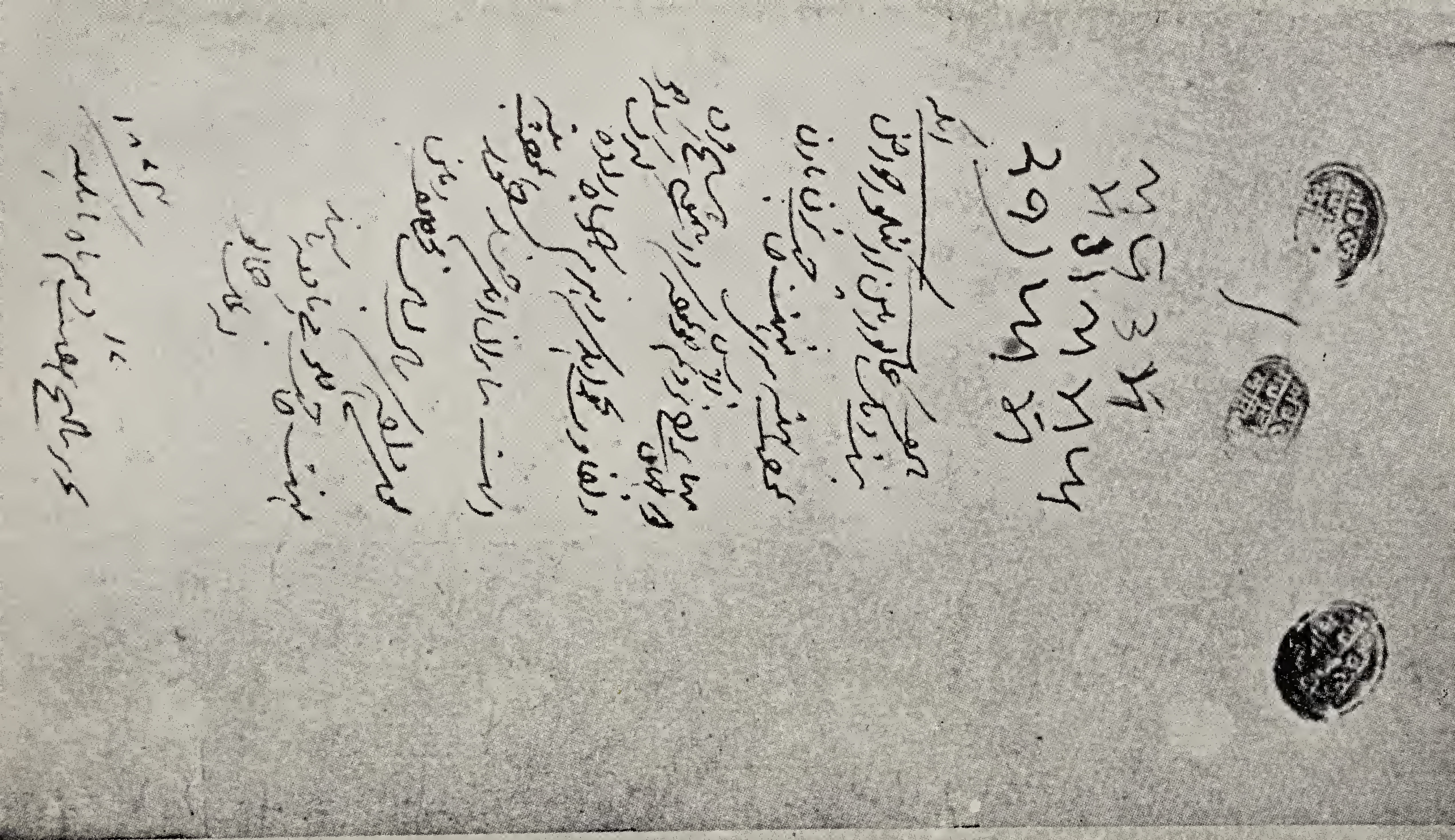


DOCUMENT NO. XXXVII

Size of the original 25.4×14.1 cms.

DOCUMENT NO. XXXVIII Size of the original 20×14 cms.

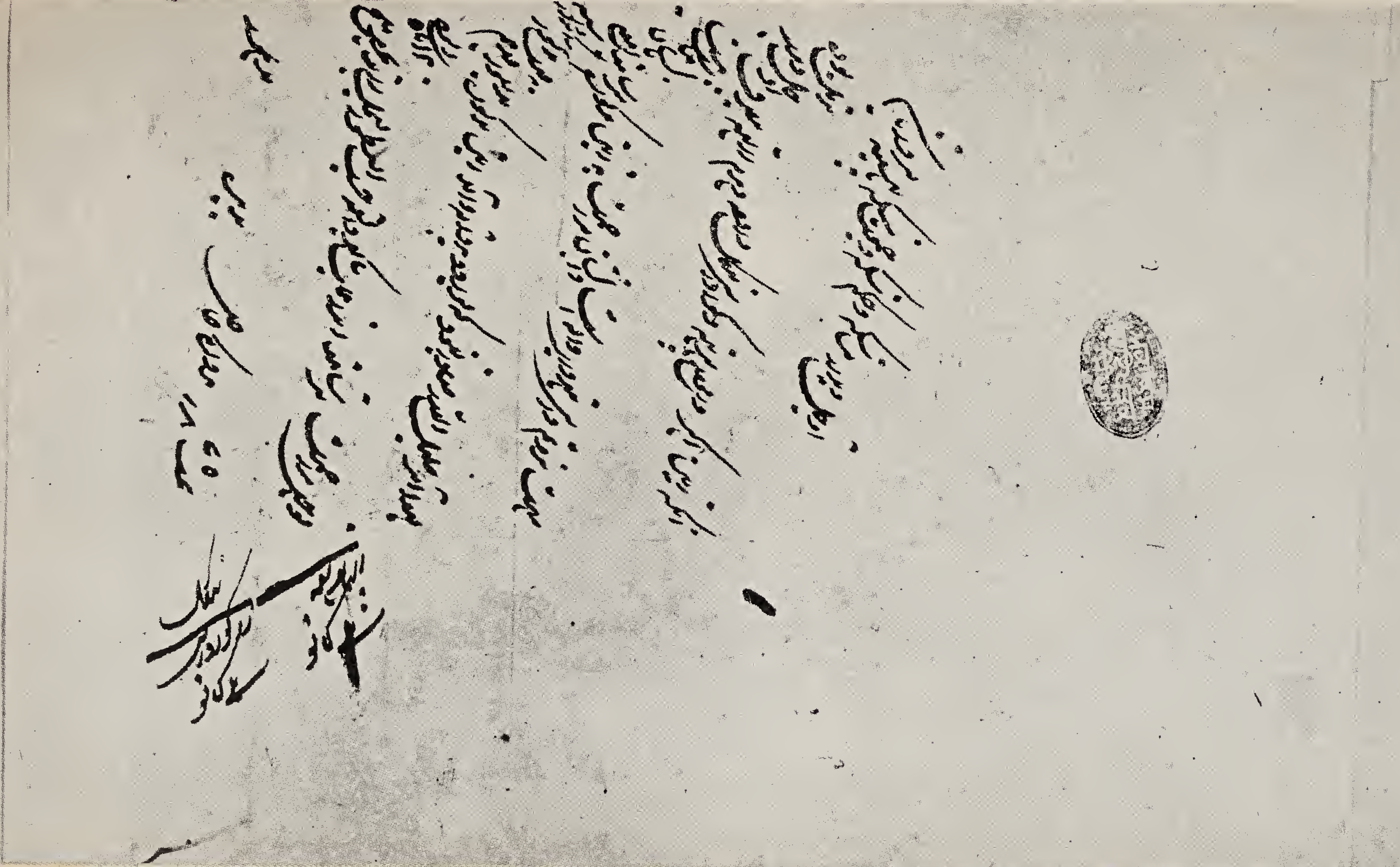


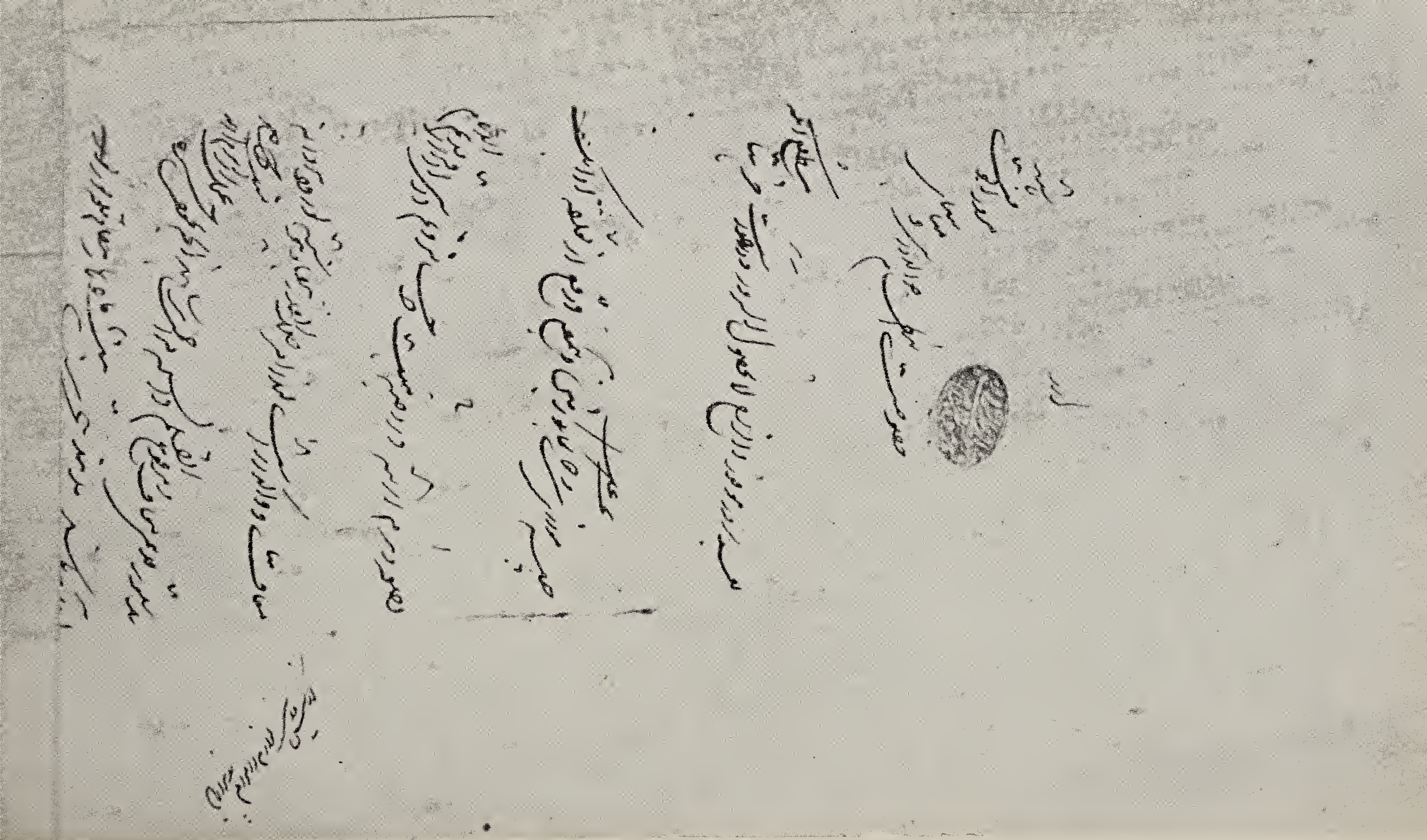


DOCUMENT NO. XXXIX

Size of the original 26.5 × 13.3 cms.

DOCUMENT NO. XL Size of the original 18.8 × 12.7 cms.

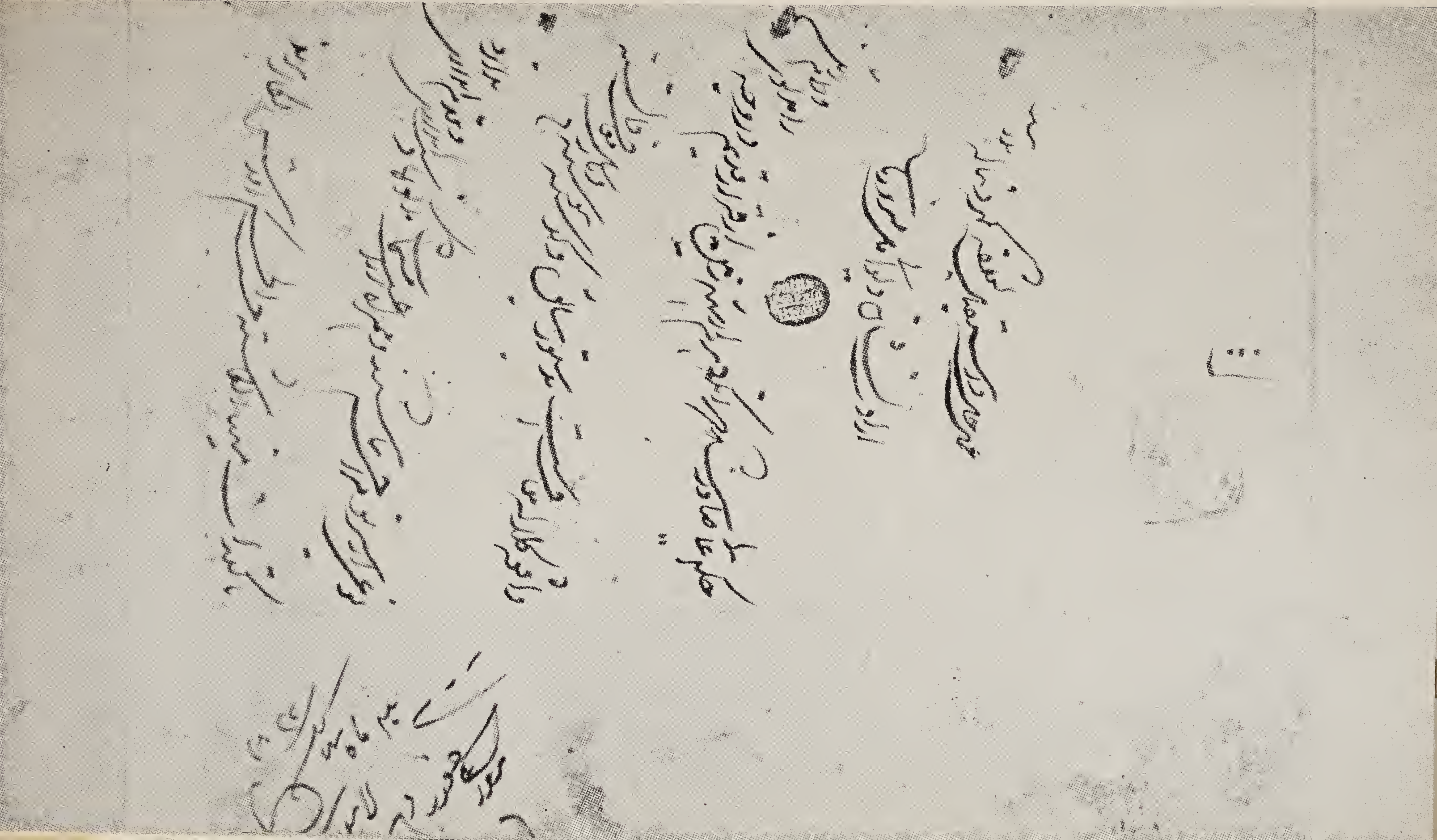


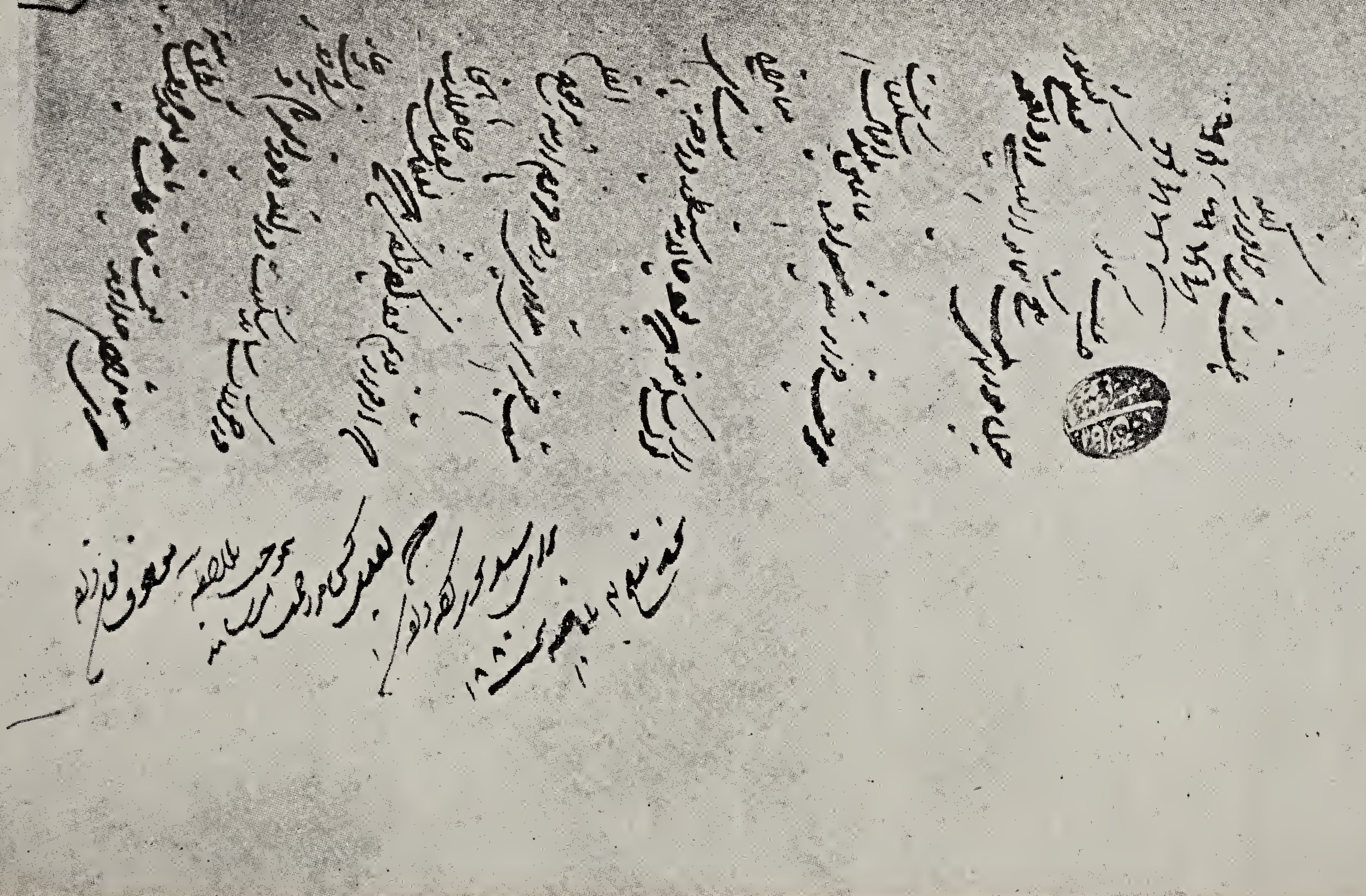


DOCUMENT NO. XLI

Size of the original 25.8×13.3 cms.

DOCUMENT NO. XLII Size of the original 20×14 cms.





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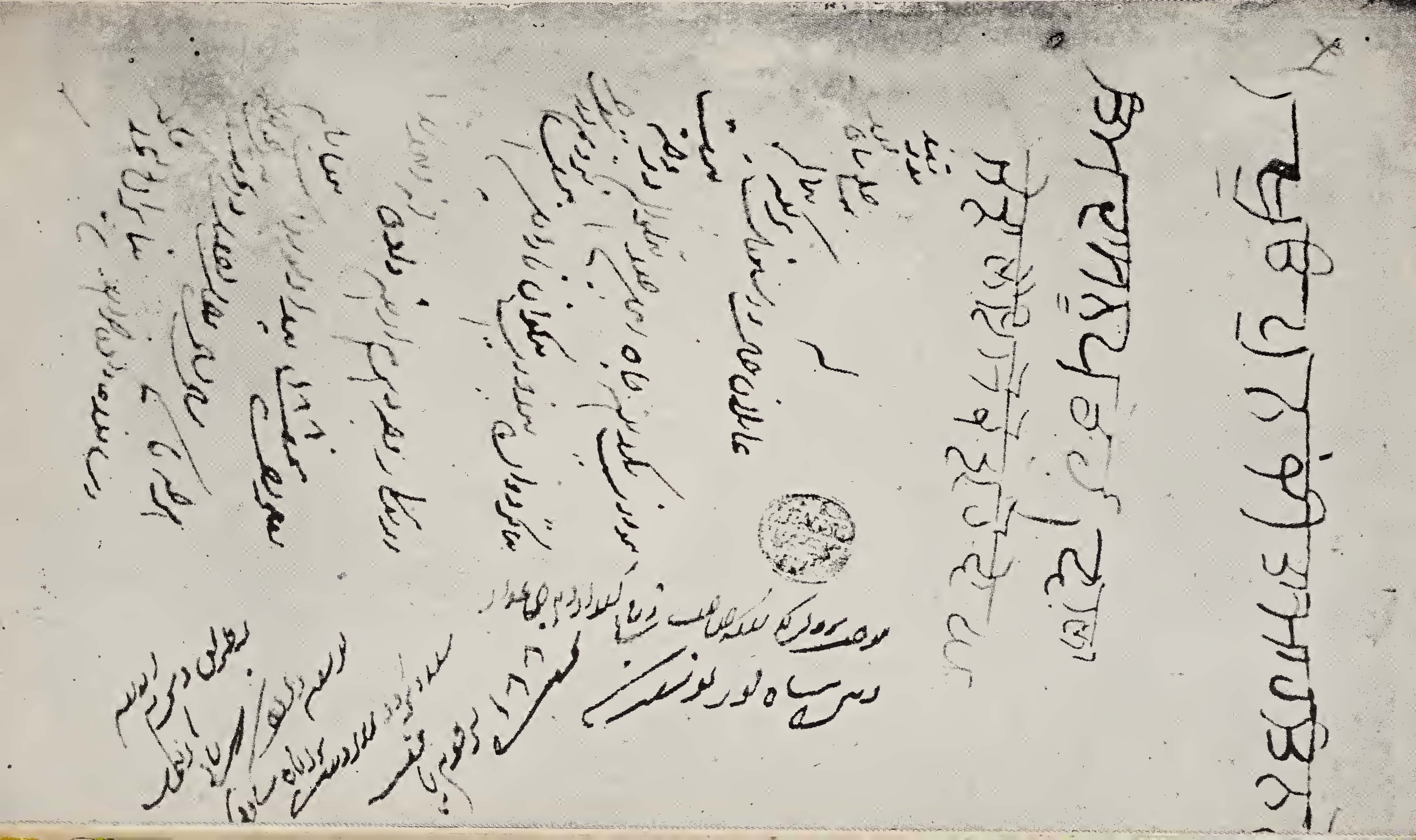
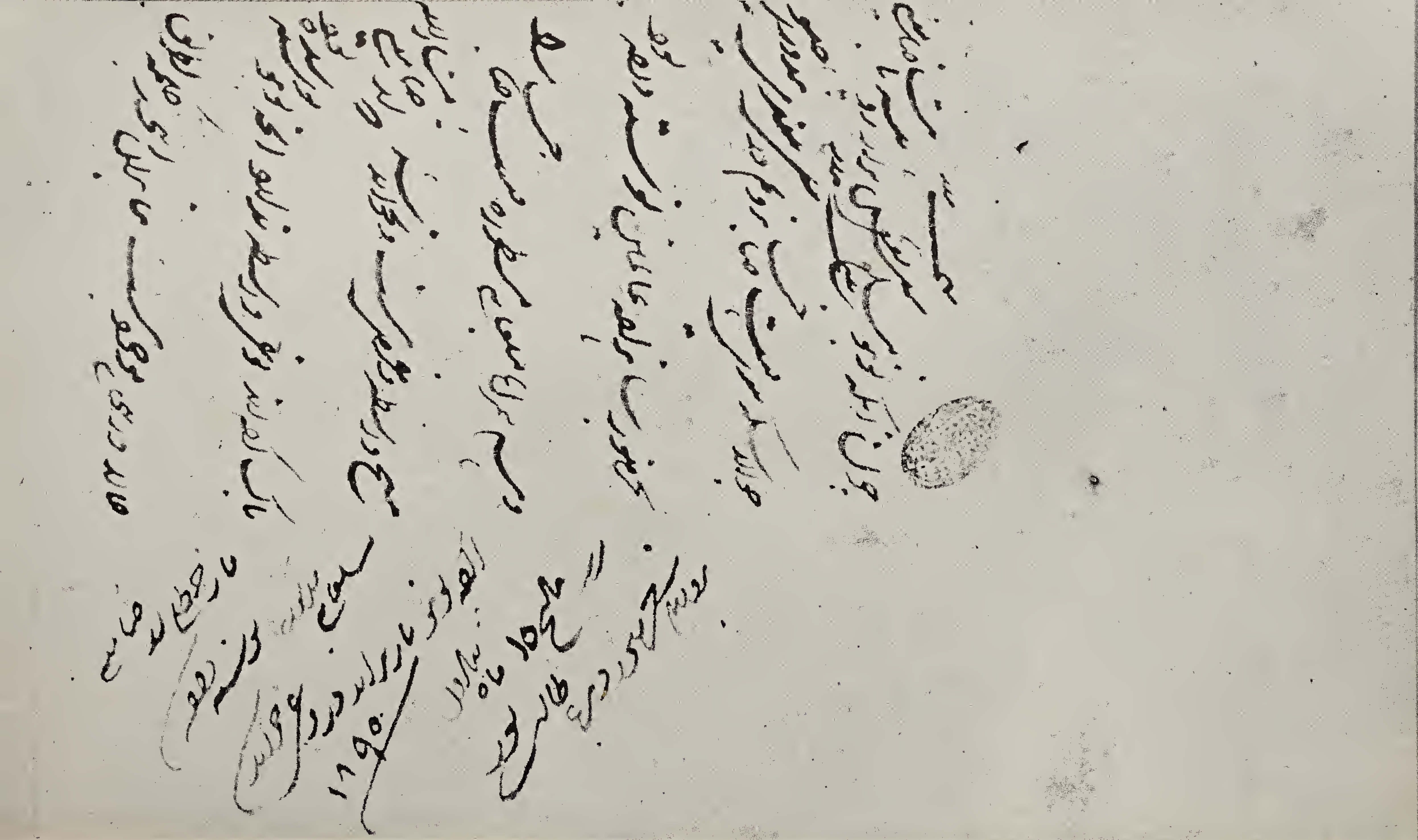
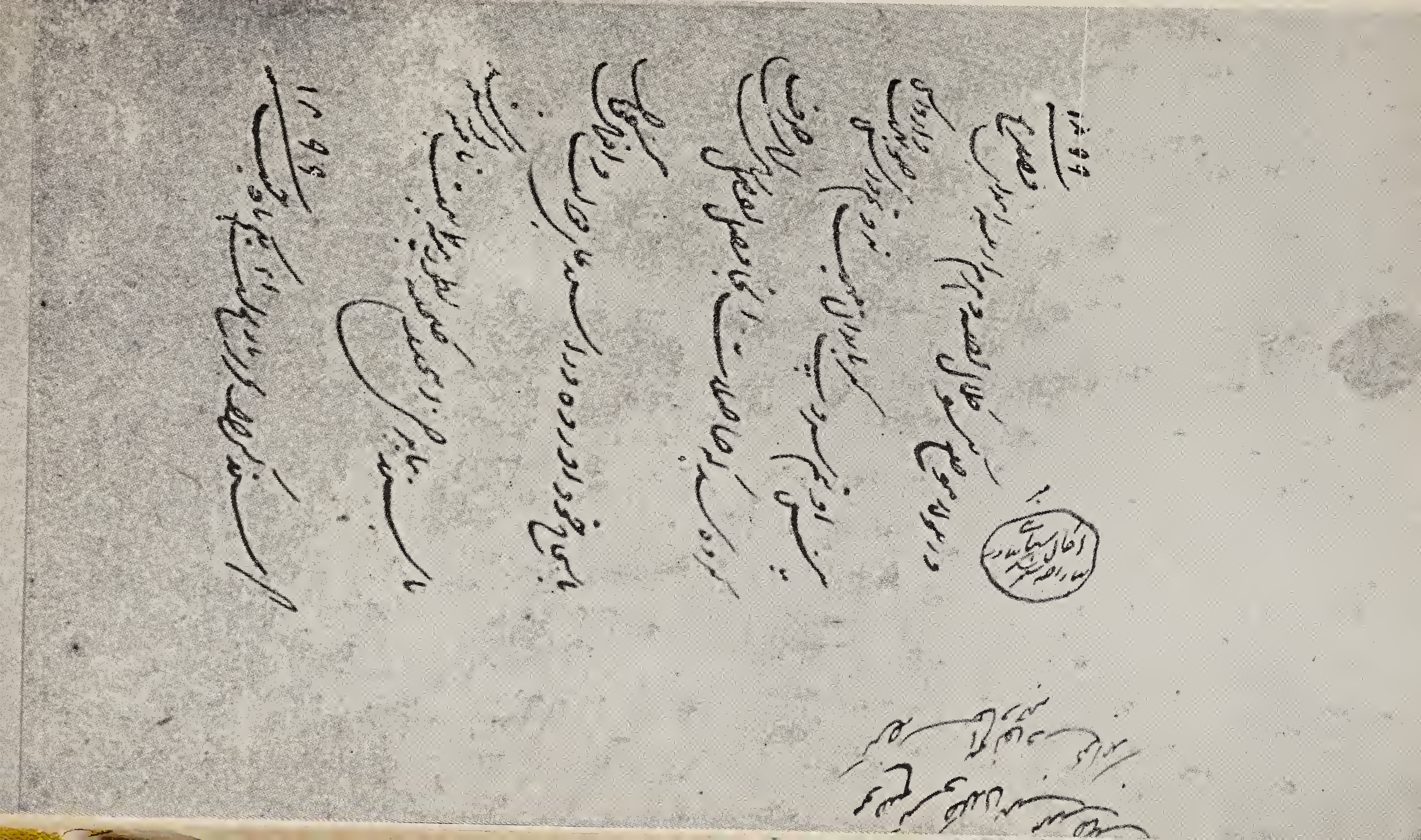


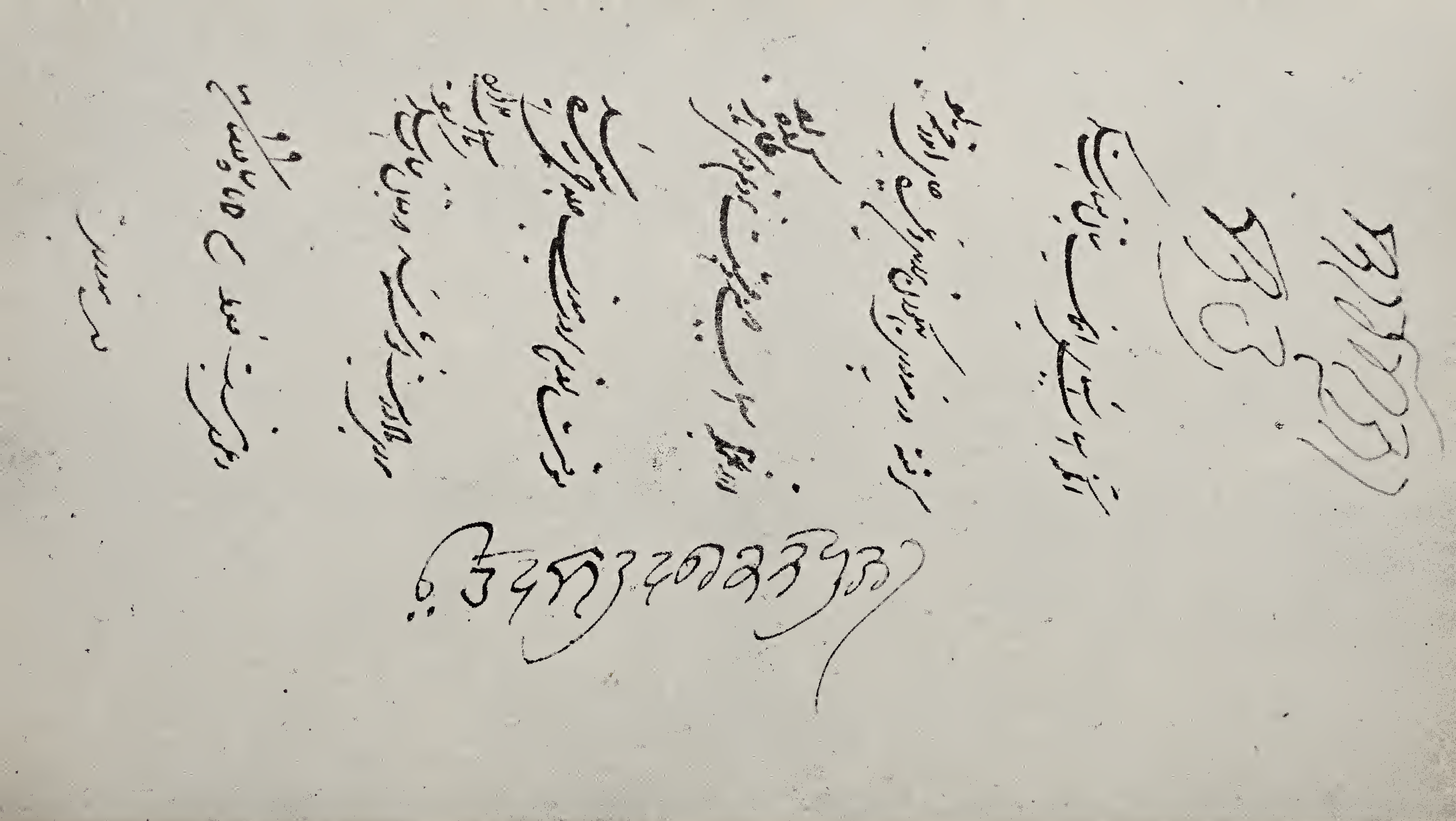


DOCUMENT NO. XLV

Size of the original 20×13 cms.

DOCUMENT NO. XLVI Size of the original 31.5 × 14.2 cms.



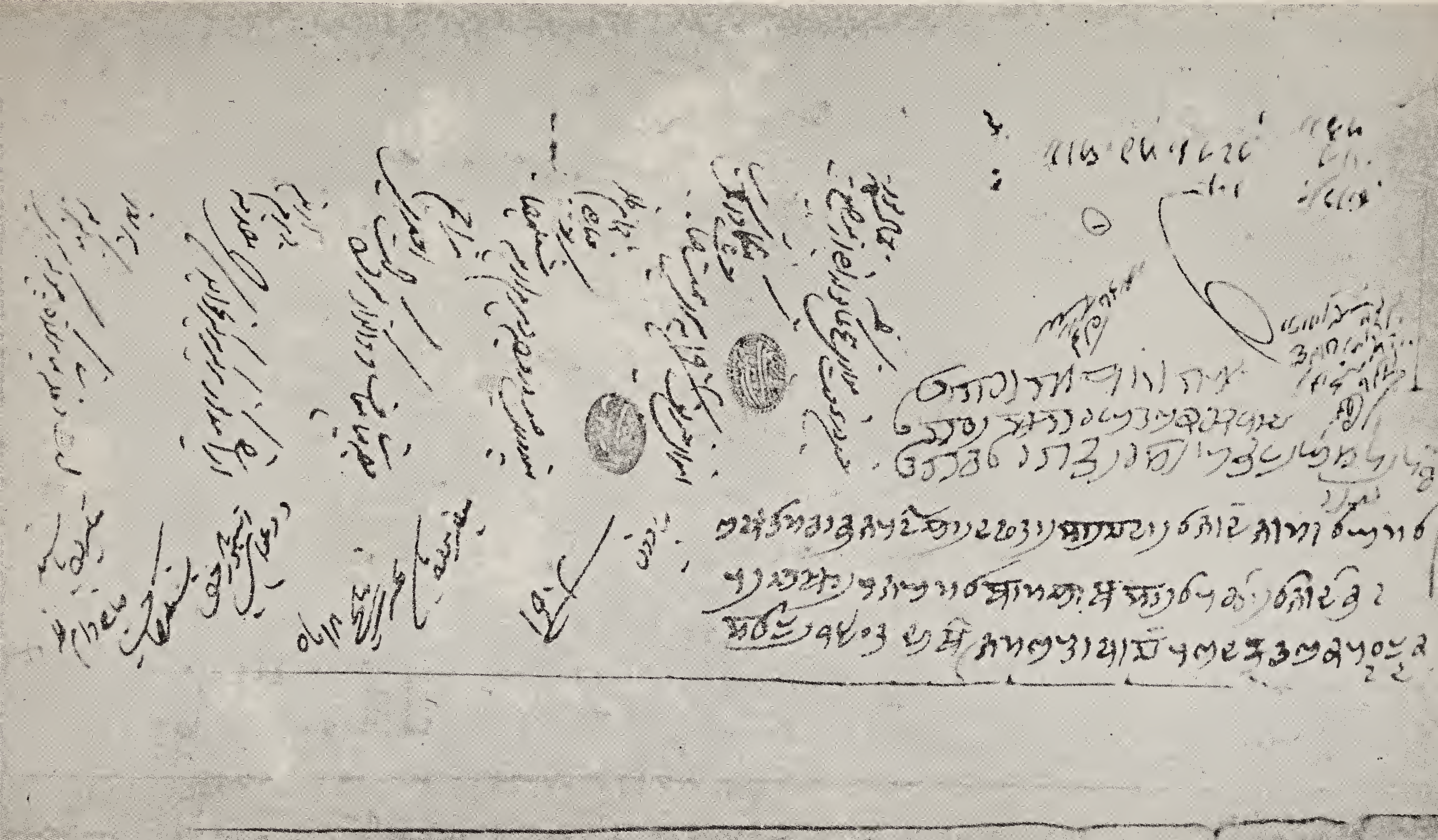


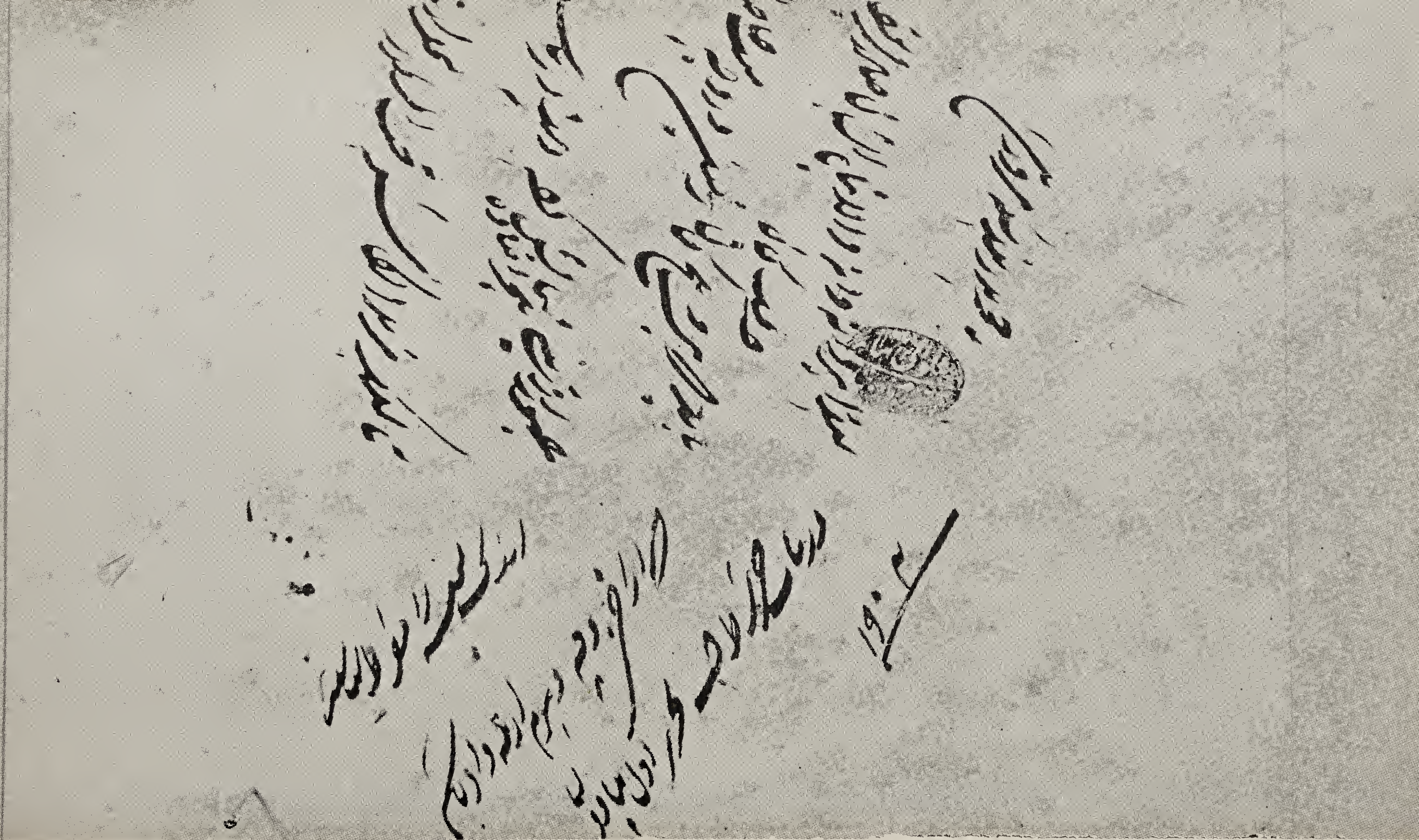
DOCUMENT NO. XLVII

Size of the original 30.8×13.7 cms.

DOCUMENT NO. XLVIII

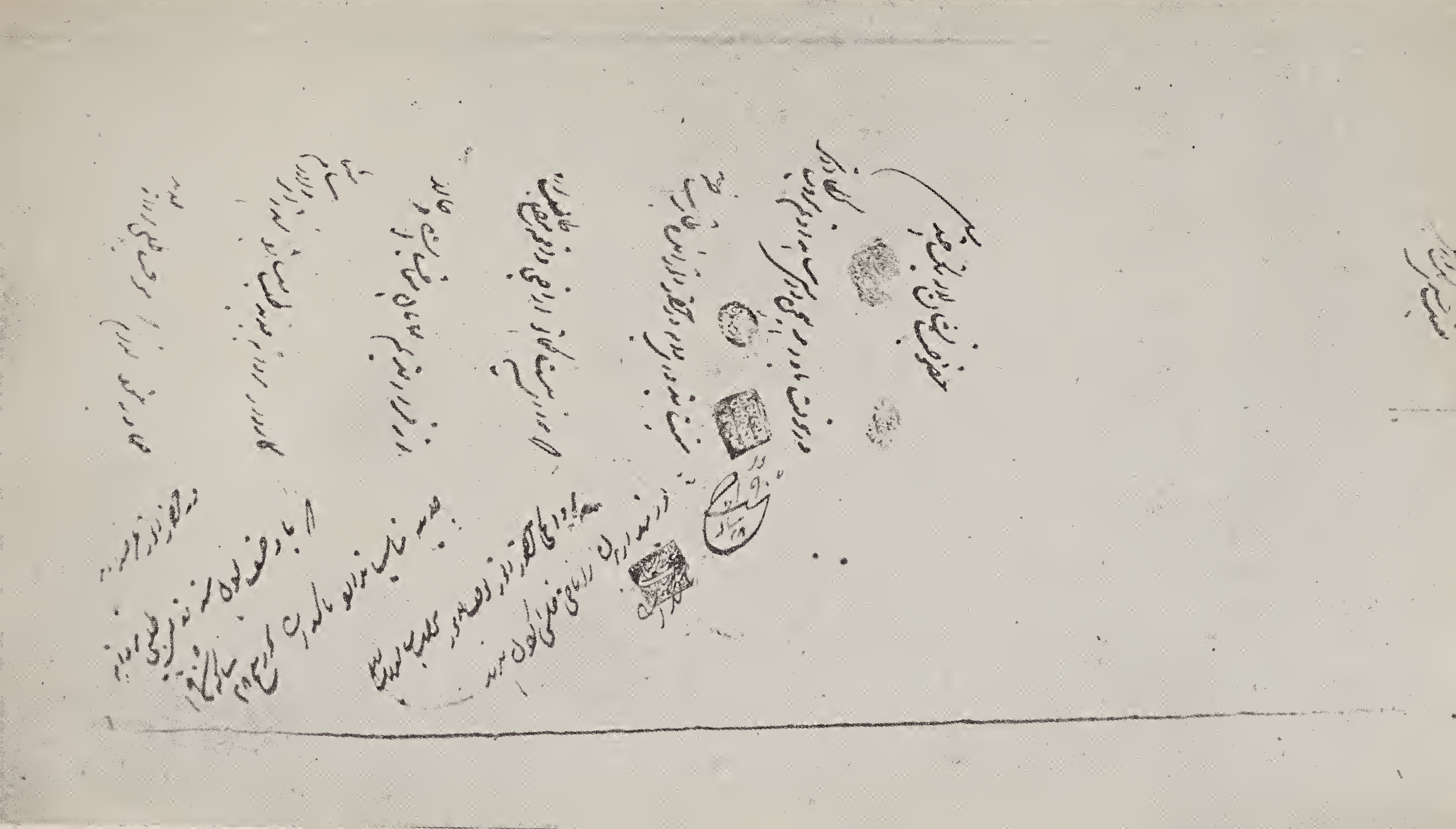
Size of the original 29.8×11.5 cms.

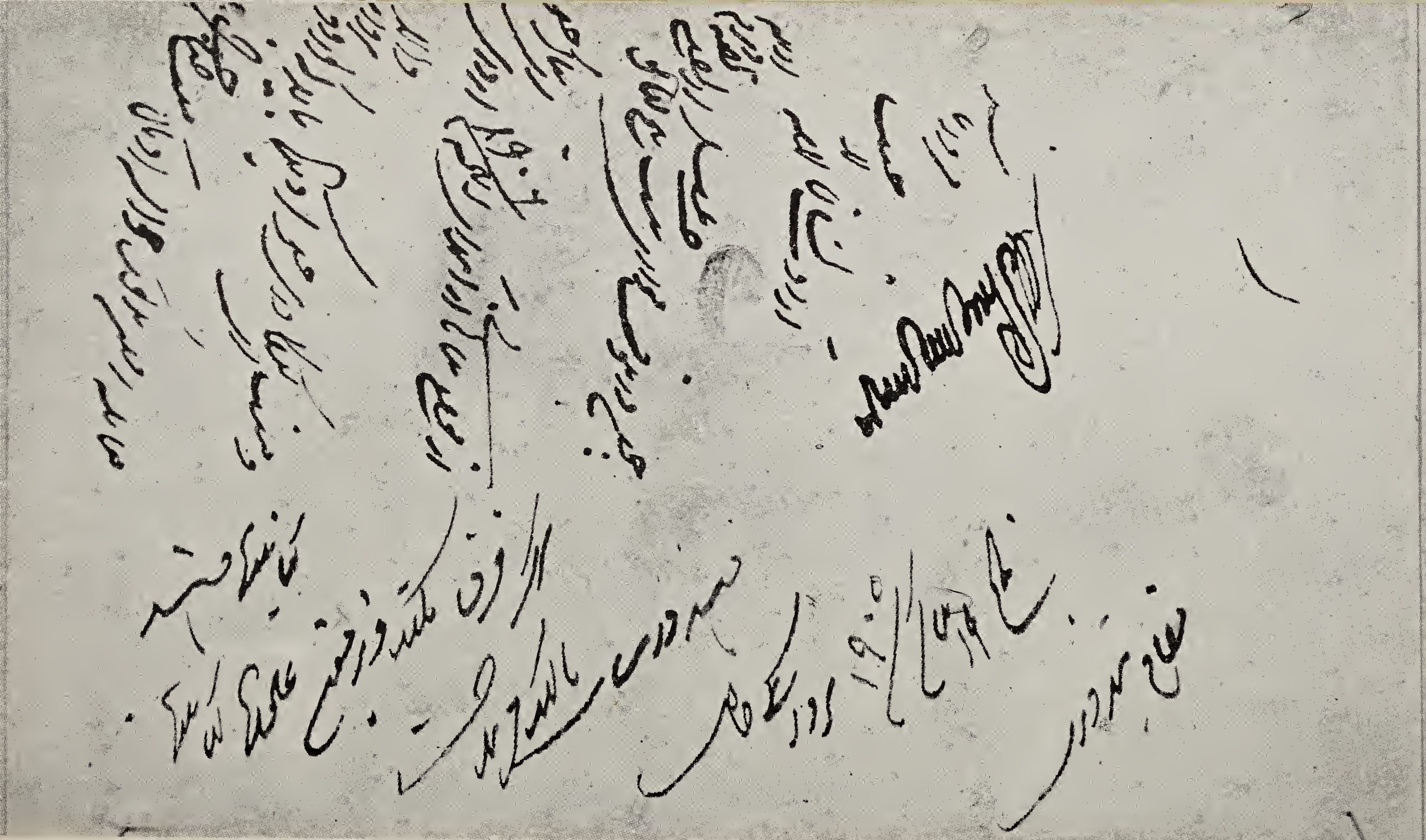




DOCUMENT NO. XLIX — — Size of the original 14×12.2 cms.

DOCUMENT NO. L Size of the original 32 × 13.5 cms.



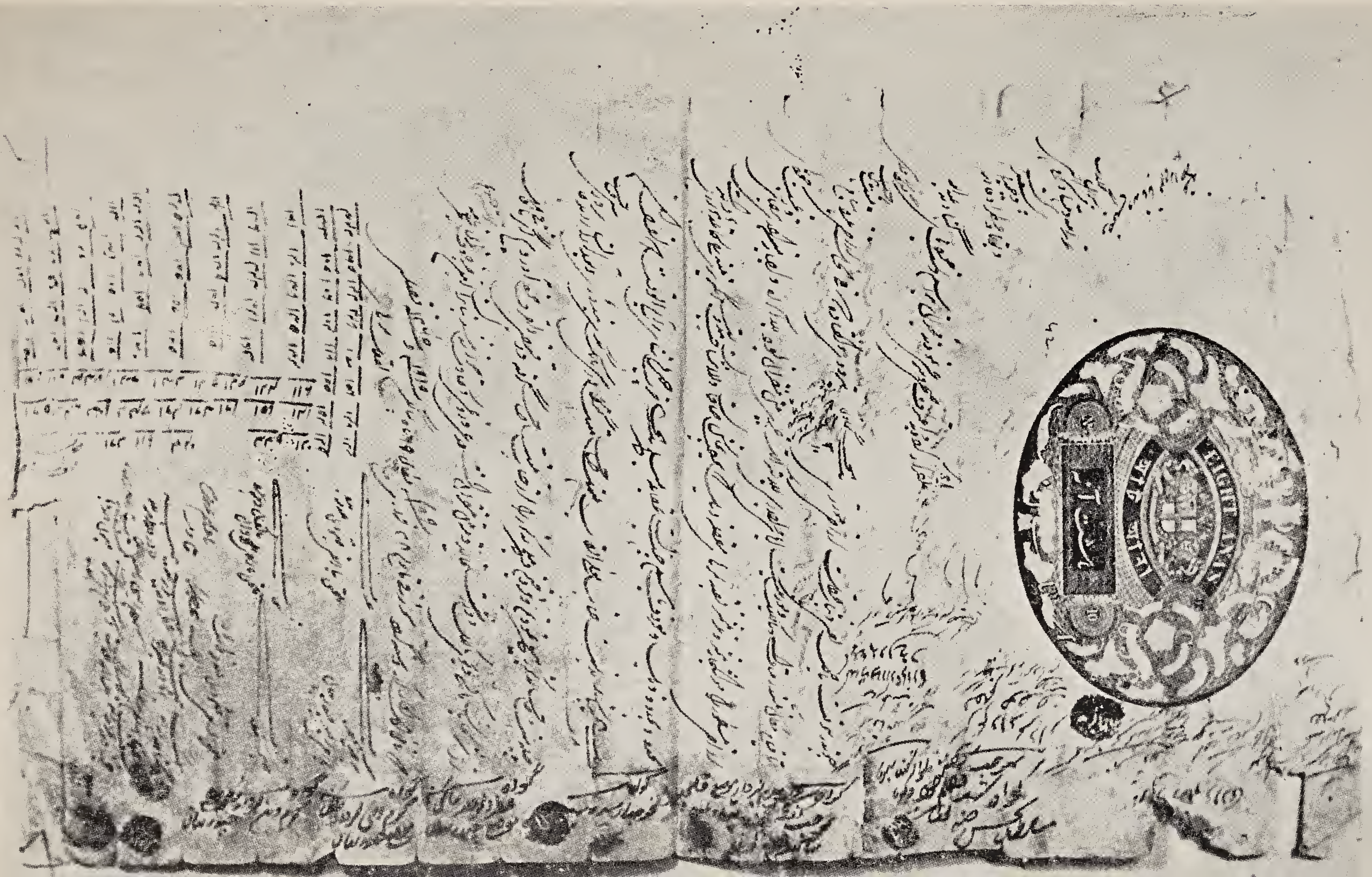


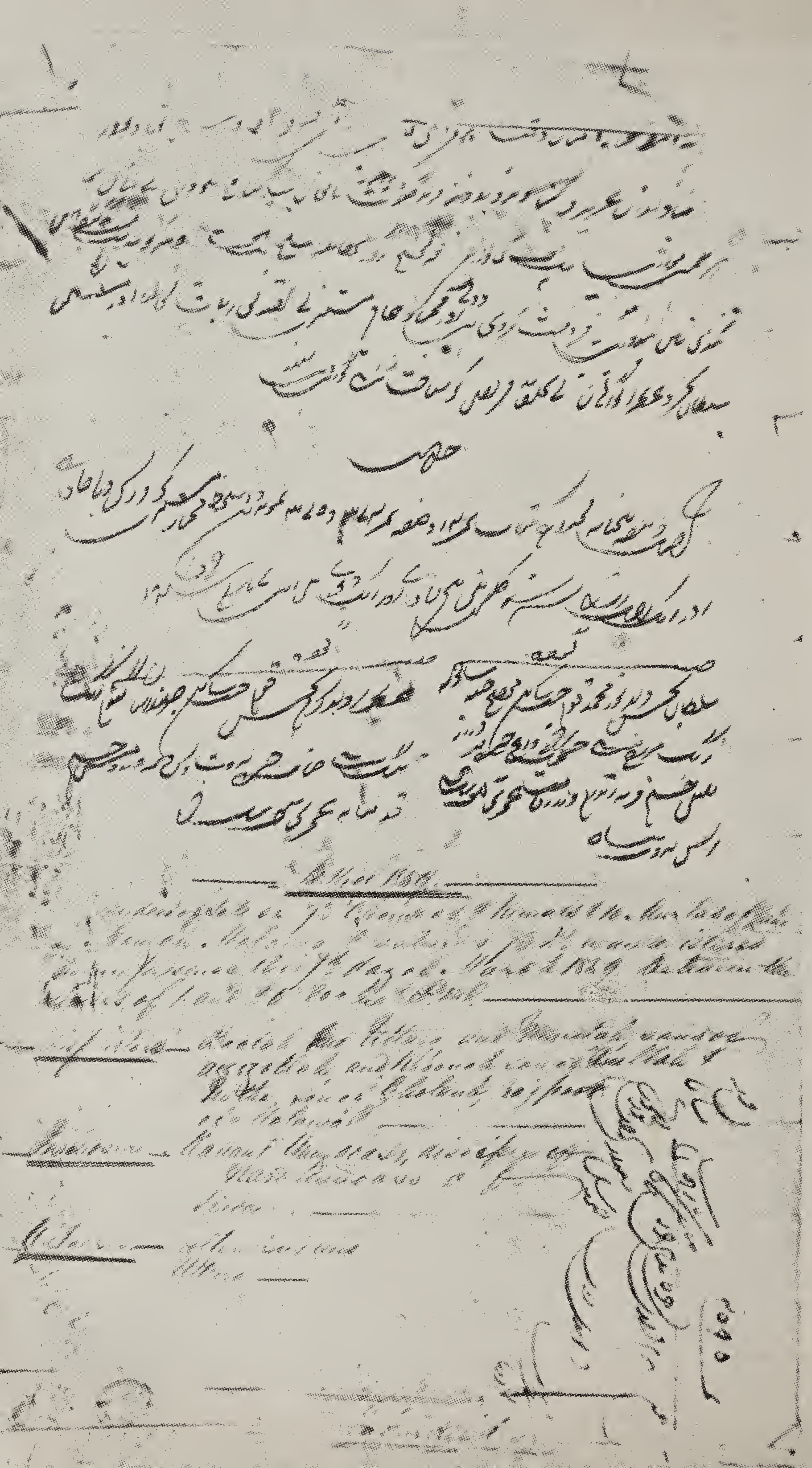
DOCUMENT NO. LI

Size of the original 17.8×11.8 cms.

DOCUMENT NO. LII

Size of the original 37.3×20.8 cms.





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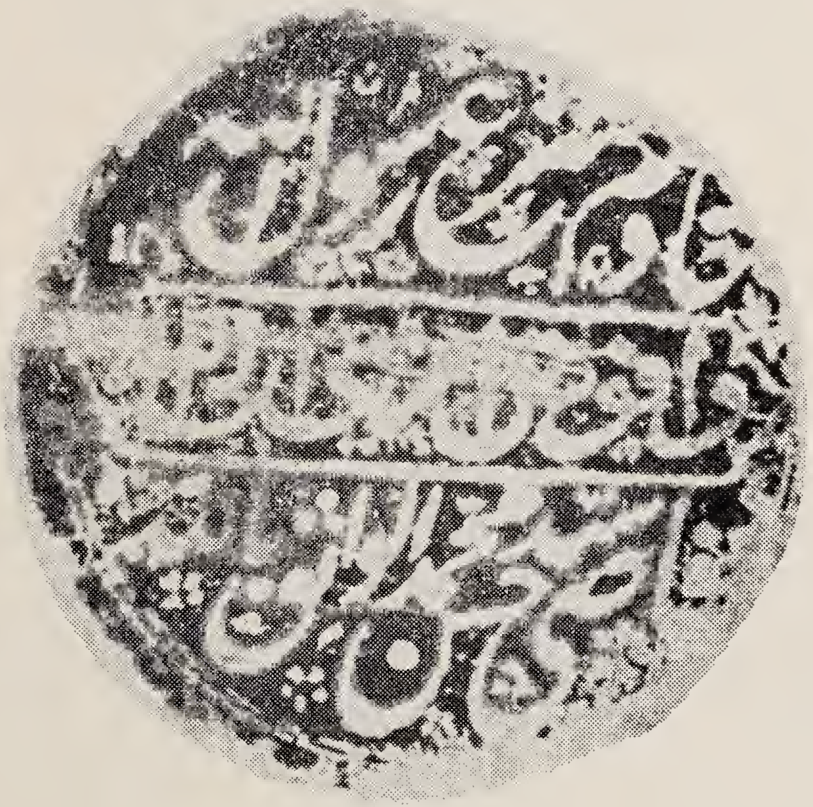
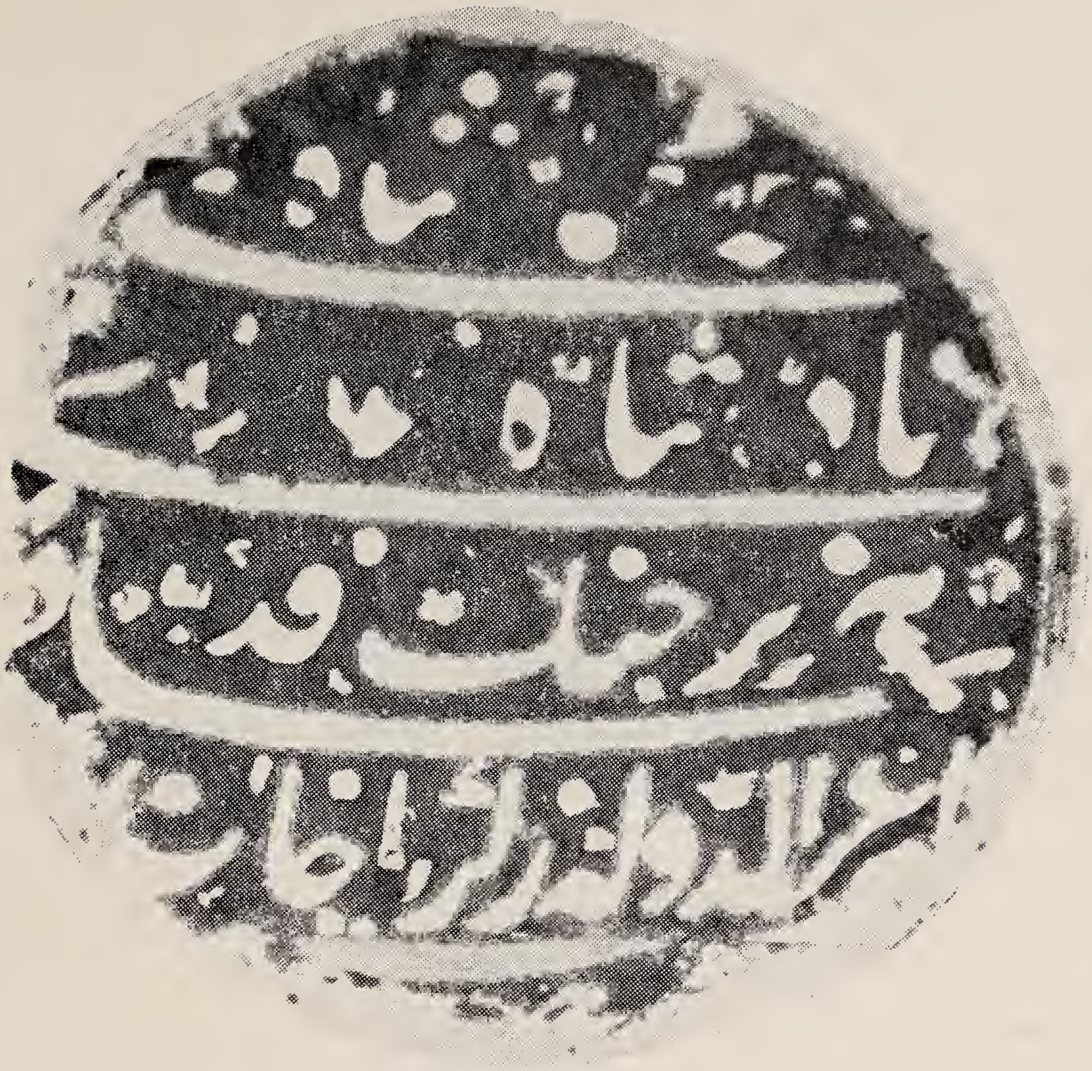
PRINCIPAL SEALS



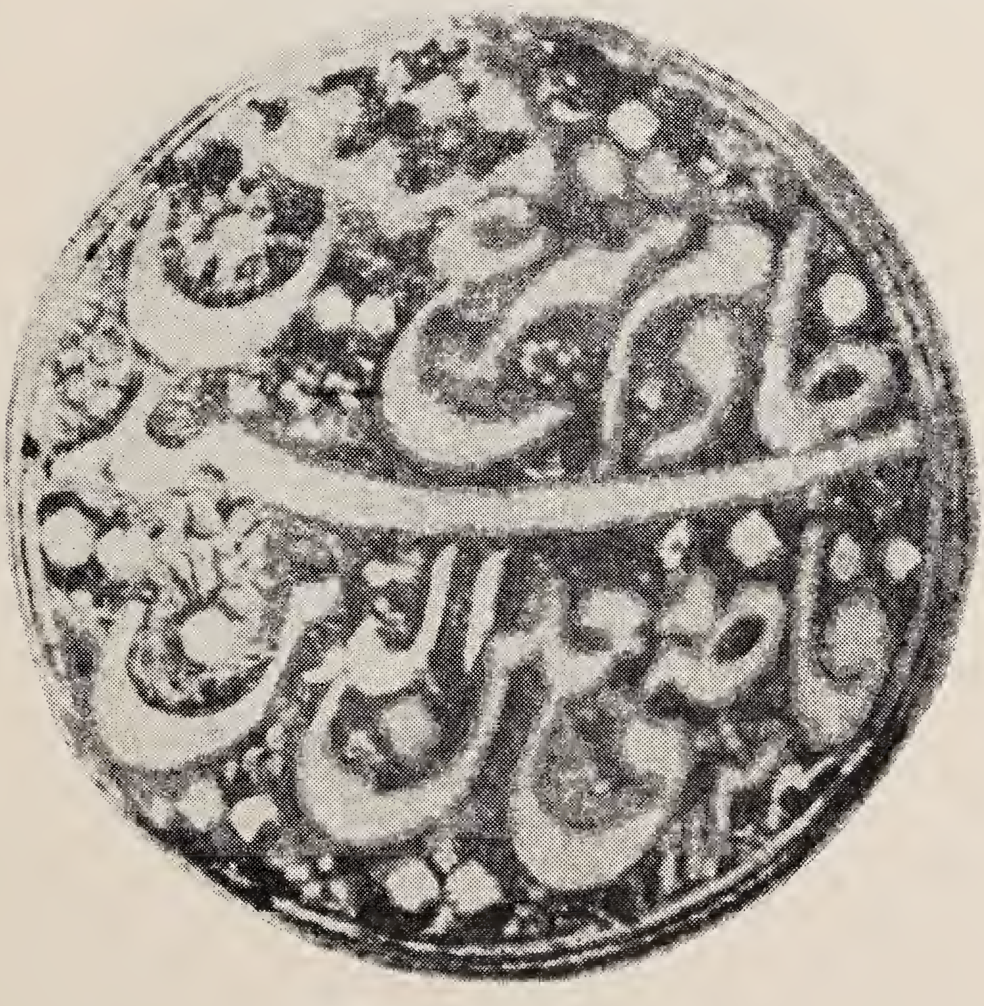
DOCUMENT NO. I

DOCUMENT NO. II

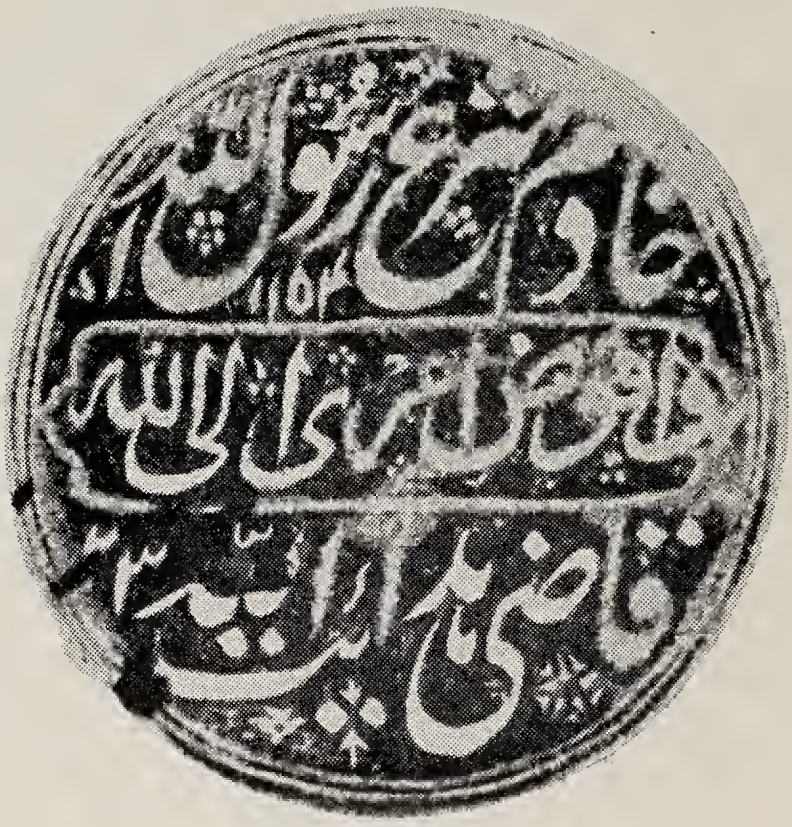
DOCUMENT No. II



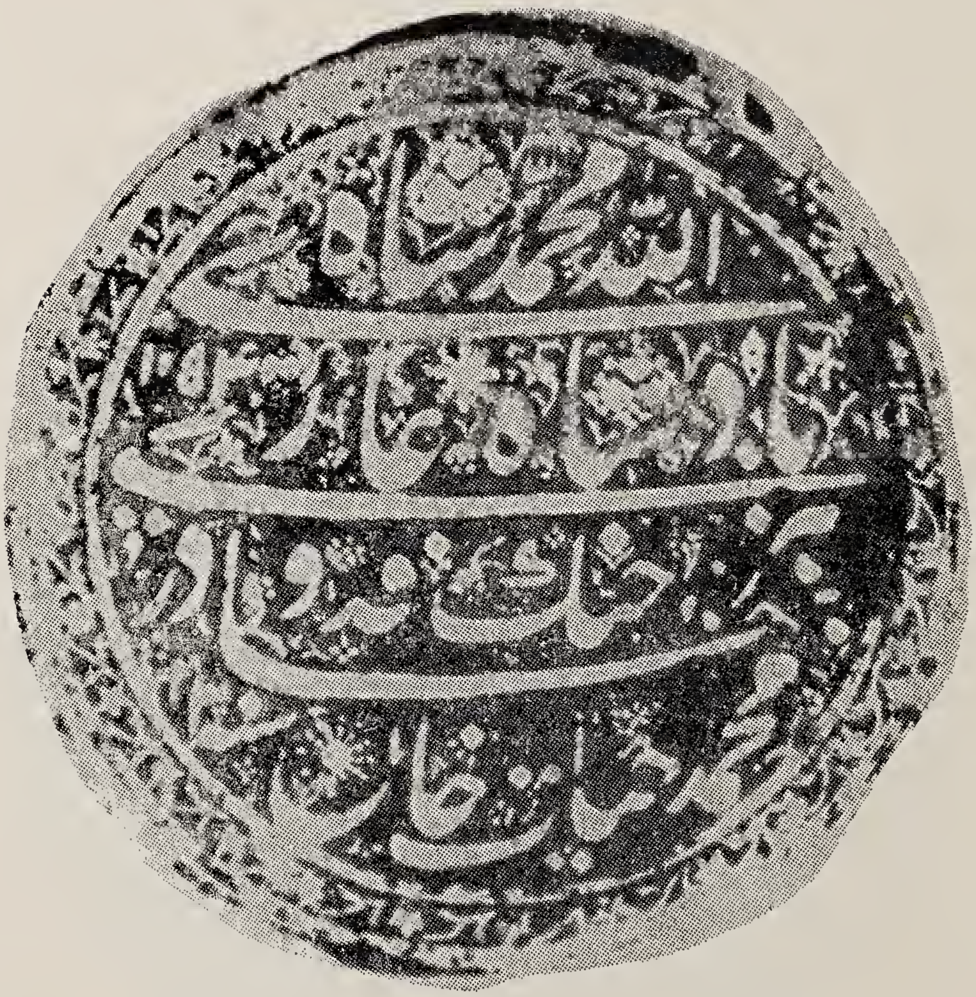
DOCUMENT NO. III



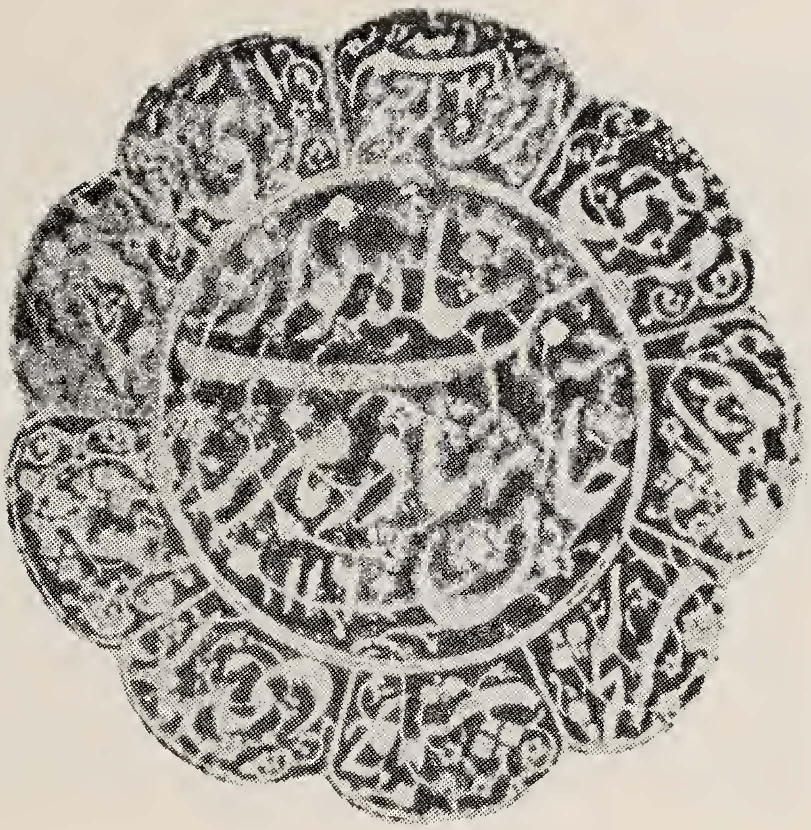
DOCUMENT NO. IV



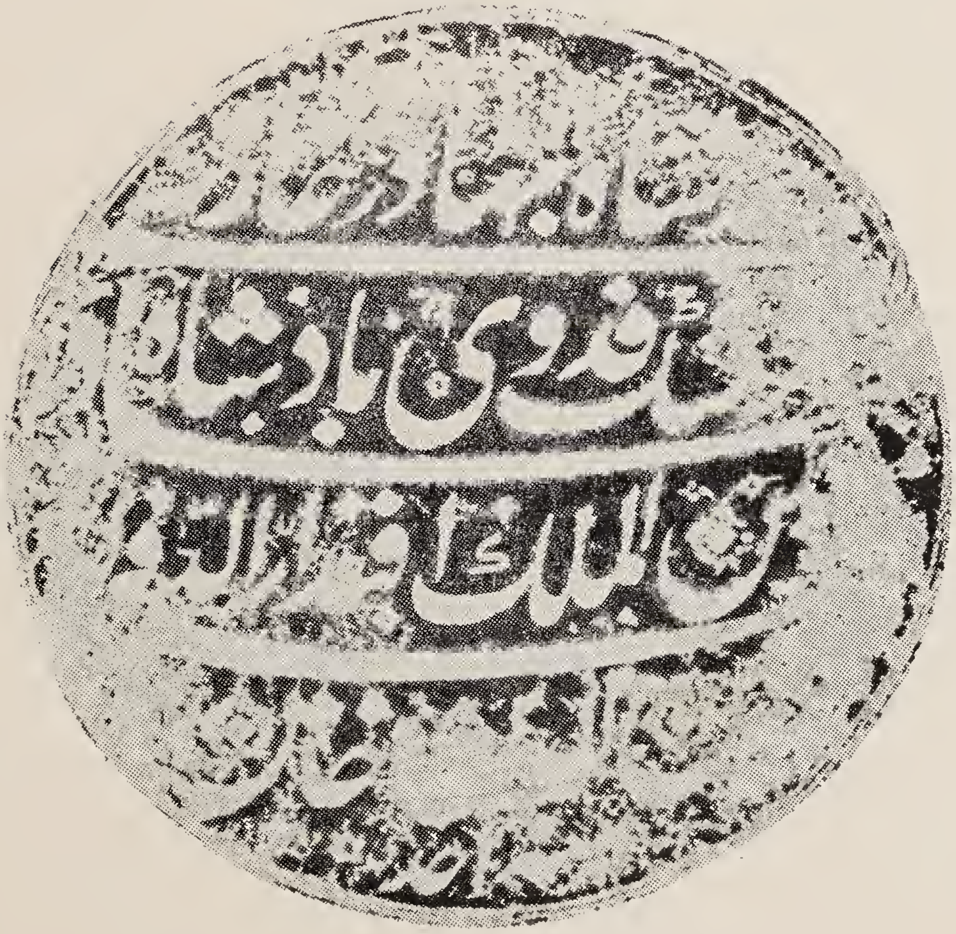
DOCUMENT NO. VIII



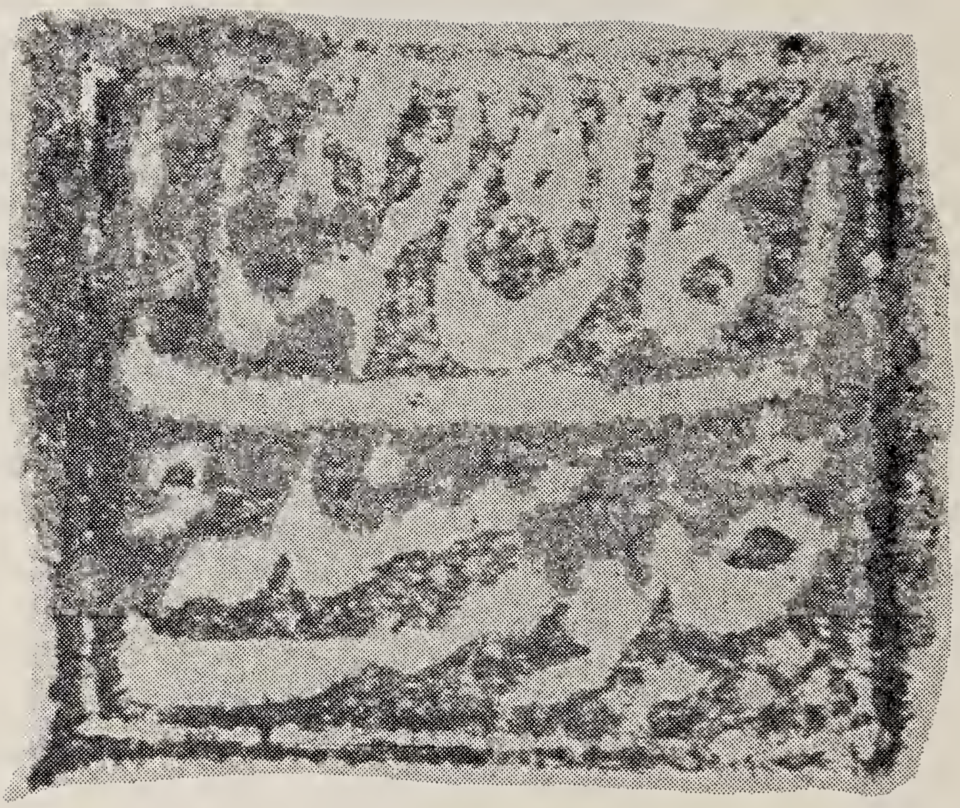
DOCUMENT NO. X



DOCUMENT NO. XI



DOCUMENT NO. XII



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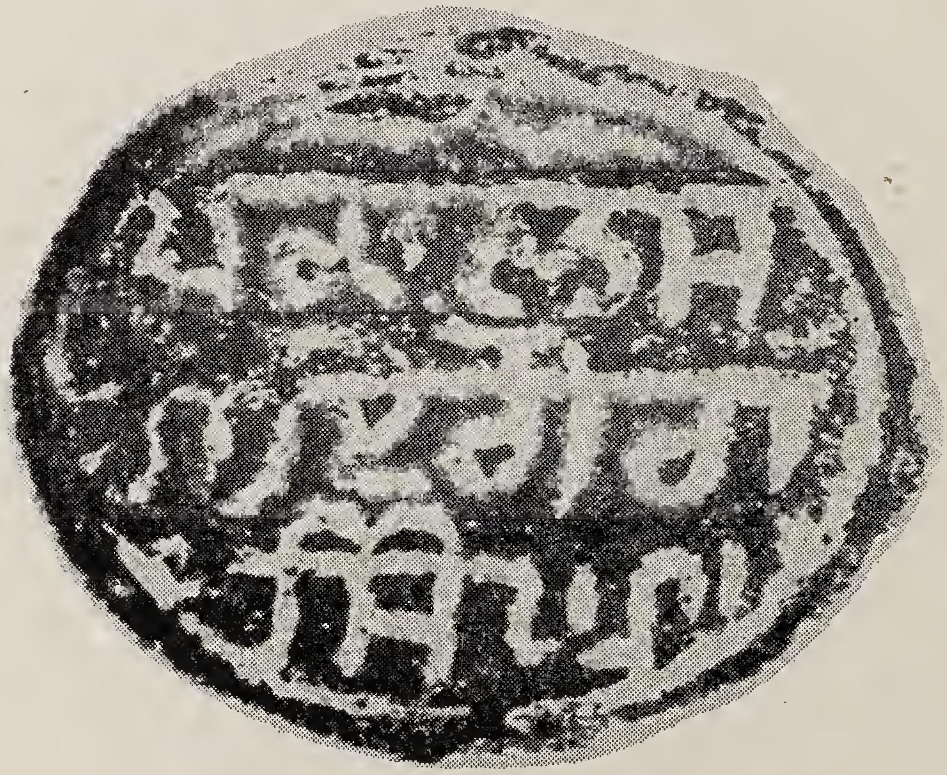

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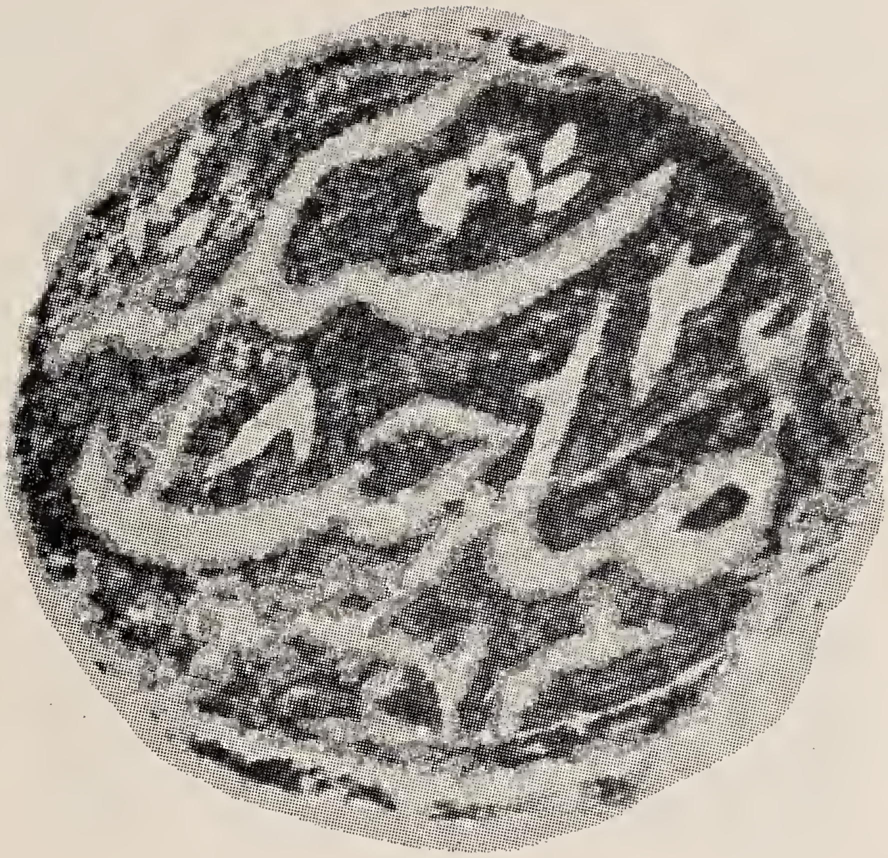

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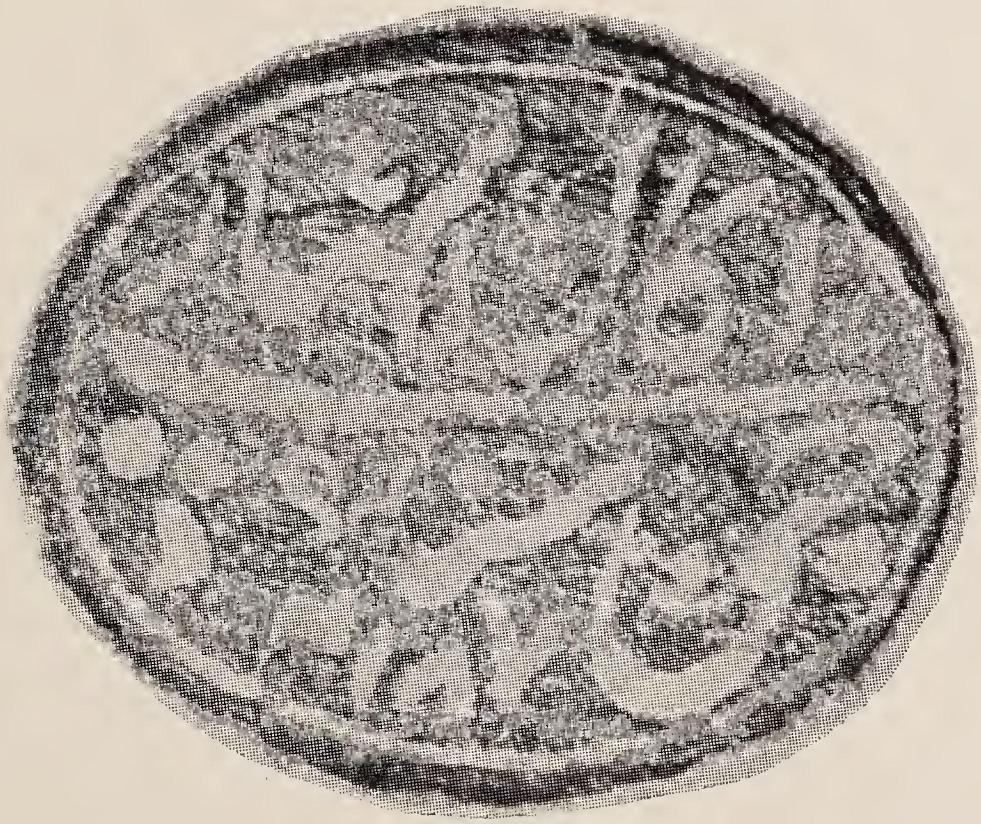

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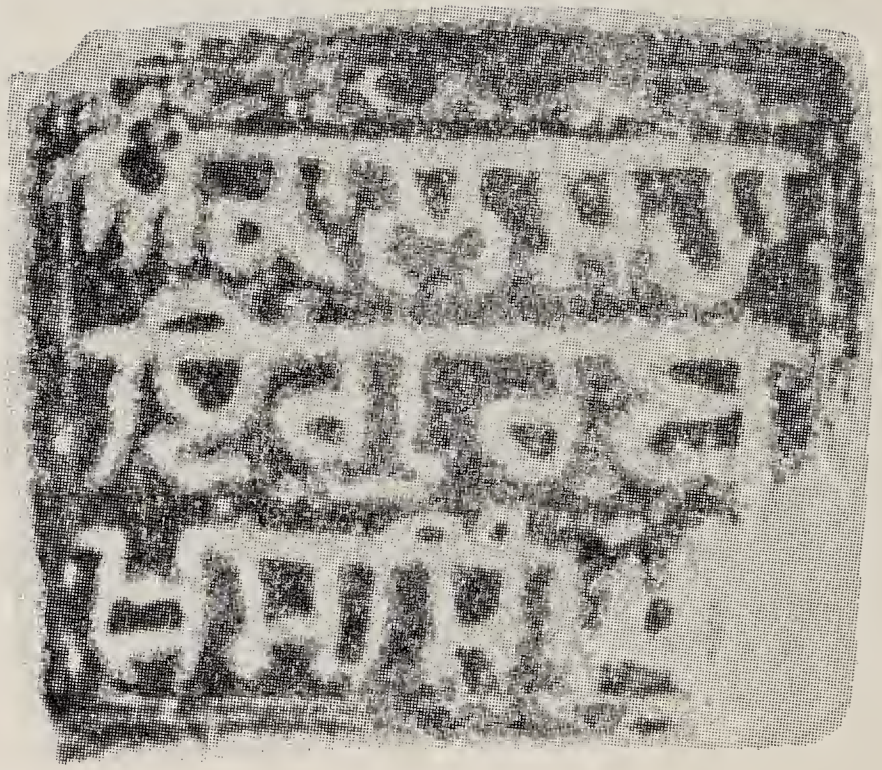
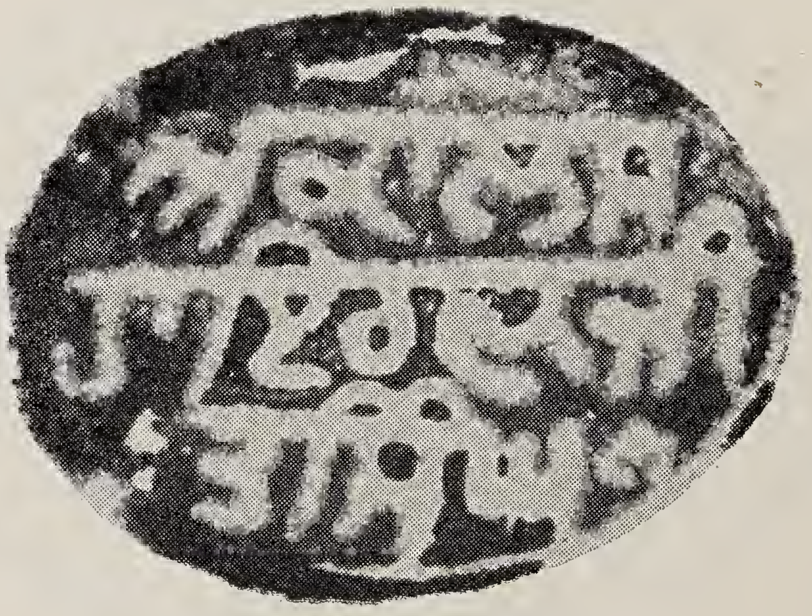


DOCUMENT NO. XXVI



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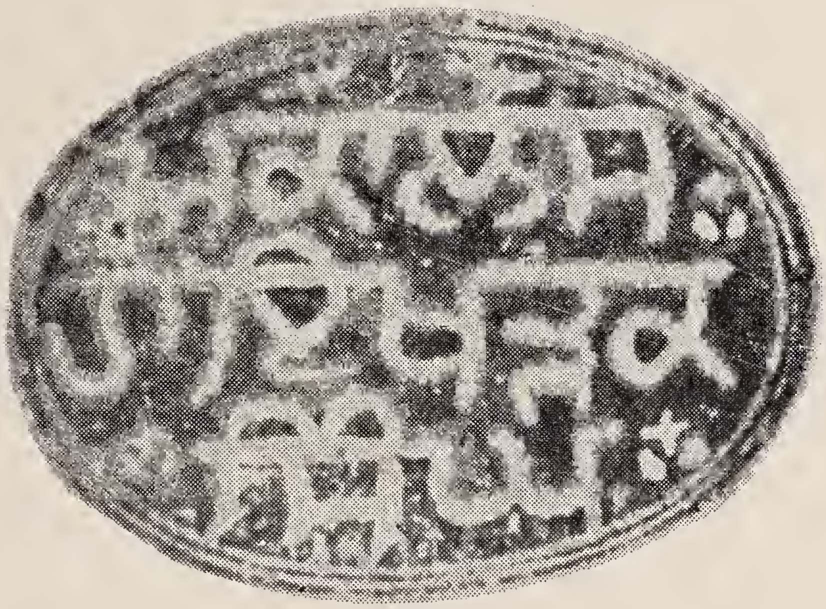
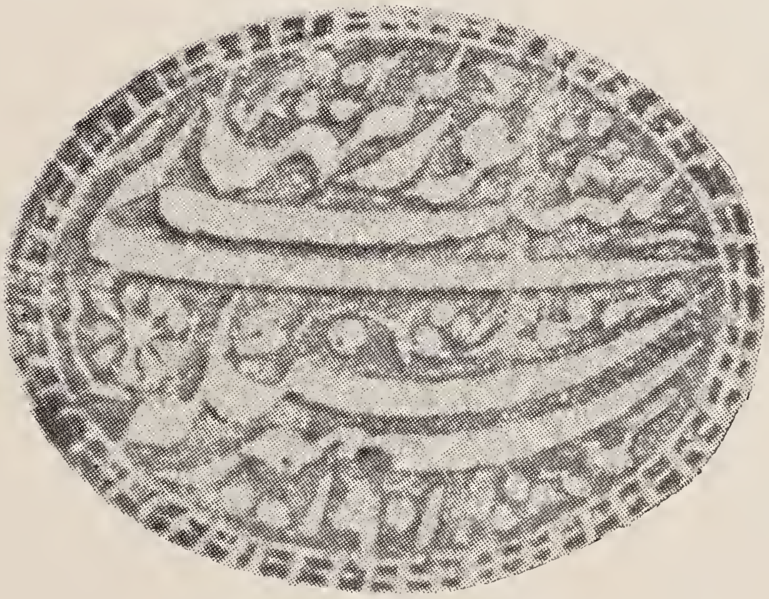
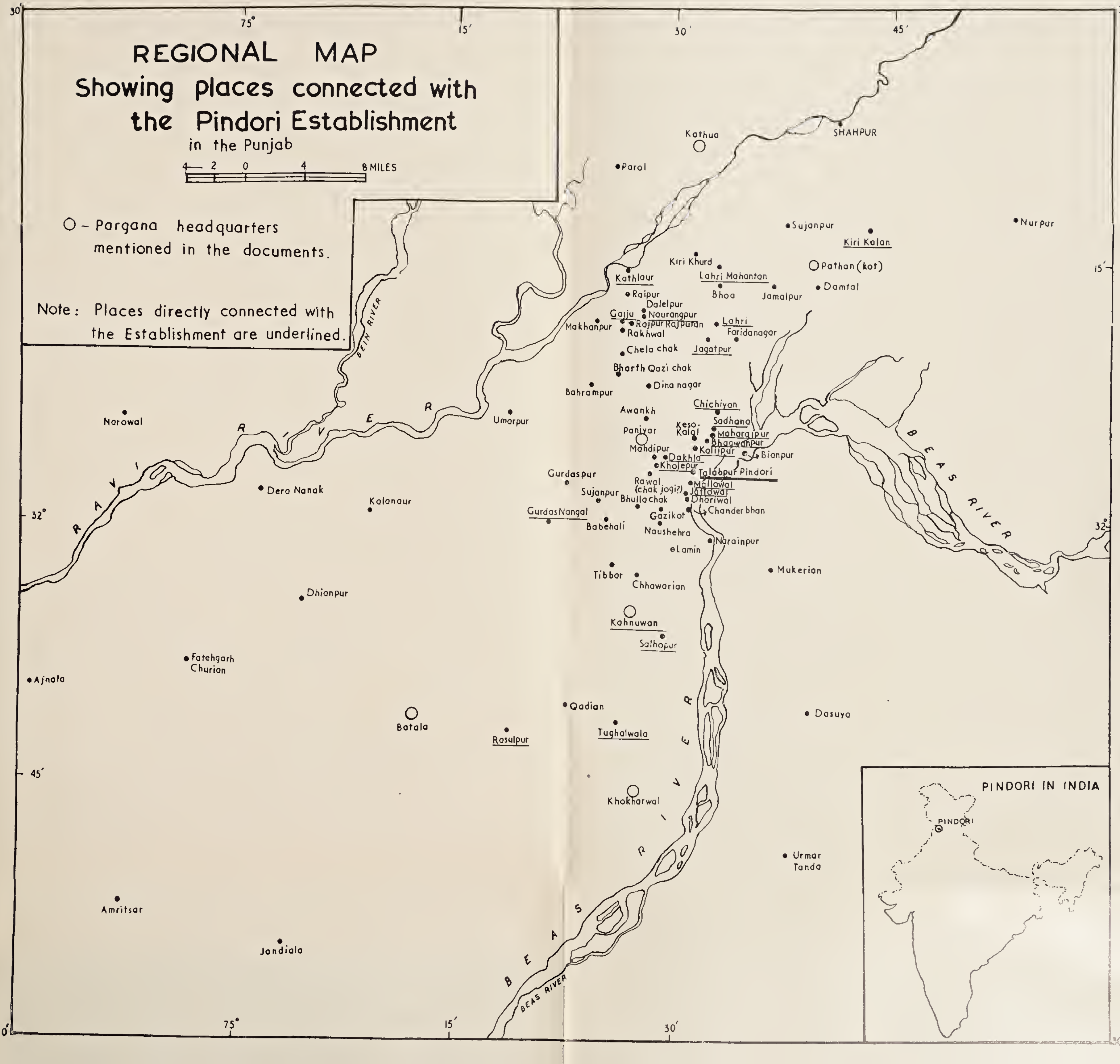


DOCUMENT XXXVIII



DOCUMENT XLVIII



REGIONAL MAP
Showing places connected with
the Pindori Establishment
in the Punjab

O - Pargana headquarters mentioned in the documents.

Note: Places directly connected with the Establishment are underlined.

4 2 0 4 8 MILES
30'
75°
15'
30'
45'
15'
32°
45'
PINDORI IN INDIA
PINDORI
Kathua
SHAHPUR
Parol
Sujanpur
Kiri Kalan
Nurpur
Kiri Khurd
Pathan (kot)
Kathlaur
Lahri Mahantan
Damtal
Raipur
Bhoa
Jamalpur
Dalelpur
Gajju
Naurangpur
Makhanpur
Rajpur Rajputan
Lahri
Rakhwal
Faridanagar
Chela chak
Jagatpur
Bharth Qazi chak
Bahrampur
Dina nagar
BEIN RIVER
Narowal
RAVI RIVER
Umarpur
Awankh
Chichiyan
Sadhana
Paniyar
Keso-Kalal
Maharajpur
Bhagwanpur
Mahdipur
Kalijpur
Bianpur
Dakhla
Khojepur
Talabpur Pindori
Gurdaspur
Rawal (chak jogi?)
Mallowal
Jattowal
Dhariwal
Sujanpur
Bhullachak
Chanderbhan
Dera Nanak
Kalanaur
Gurdas Nangal
Gazikot
Babehali
Naushehra
Narainpur
Lamin
BEAS RIVER
Tibbar
Chhawarian
Mukerian
Dhianpur
Kahnuwan
Salhopur
Fatehgarh Churian
Ajnala
Qadian
Dasuya
Batala
Tughalwala
Rasulpur
Khokharwal
Urmar Tanda
Amritsar
Jandiala
BEAS RIVER